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B. L. Sukhwal

INDIA

A Political Geography

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TO MY PARENTS
Shri and Shrimati BHURI LAL SUKHWAL,
who are no longer in this world
but whose blessings have guided my path
since they left me in my early childhood

and

TO MY FAMILY
Wife, LILAWATI,
who is a constant source of inspiration to me,
son ADITYA and daughter ARCHNA,
the hope of the future

Foreword

It is gratifying to see a political geography of India written by a geographer from that country. A native author can better portray the nuances and subtleties of geopolitical problems peculiar to a complex region. Yet Professor Sukhwal, with his experience in an American University and his appreciation of American geographers, has been able to design this book within an American frame of reference.

At the outset, the author writes with an Indian viewpoint giving no quarter to influences which cross the grain of his nation's course of action. But he is both fair and objective in his evaluation of impact from beyond the border, be it from territory contiguous or non-contiguous to the soil of India. His arguments spring from actions which have been observed and facts which can be substantiated, not from emotionalism which runs beyond the pride one can justifiably have for his own country.

The author has organized his material in such a way that the book has excellent balance in the facts and views presented. One does not have to labour through long pages of a historical build-up. Rather, historical reference appears wherever pertinent to give strength to the point at hand. Neither is there a tedious treatment of geographic detail, though the great and diverse dimensions of the subcontinent might well challenge one to include more description of the colourful landscape. However, attention to four broad regions provides a realistic base upon which to ferret out and discuss politico-geographic aspects. On the other hand many references are made to geographic locations, especially the various Indian states and their role in the dynamics of regional geopolitics. Also excellent balance is given to analysis of the external and internal advantages and disadvantages facing the state in its quest for a strong international stance and for domestic unity and viability. The author likewise discusses in a forthright manner the major events and problems which have and continue to plague and even threaten security for the Indian Government, including the Kashmir question, the 1962 invasion by China and intermittent border incidents with Pakistan.

Political parties and voting patterns come in for a penetrating analysis, for they reveal the advances and retrogressions characterizing India's efforts towards activating and maintaining a stable government since independence. An enormous tally of more than 150,000,000 votes case in support of one or another of a diverse array of platforms enables one to follow the pulse of India's political life as it vibrates in a strong sequence of powerful movements willed by the unwieldy electorate. Likewise, such problems as language, caste and severe population pressure are placed in proper perspective in accounting for India's fortunes —its successes and failures.

The final part of the book is largely given over to a round-up of the country's external relations with its neighbours and the great powers, individually isolated from the overall international scene. In reading this book be prepared for a timely narrative which will go far towards explaining India's role in world politics, but principally in view of its own complexity and machinations.

G. ETZEL PEARCY

Los Angeles, USA

Preface

By studying political phenomena in their association with other features of the earth's surface, such as landforms, climate, water bodies and economic activities or settlement patterns, political geographers are able to describe and analyse the diverse ways in which man organizes space for political purposes. Richard Hartshorne has expressed similar views in his definition of political geography. He defined political geography as "the study of the variation of political phenomena from place to place in interconnection with variations in other features of the earth as the home of man. Included in these political phenomena are features produced by political forces and the political ideas which generate those forces."[1] It studies the areal differences and similarities which are political in character. Political geography, therefore, studies the political phenomena in their areal context, whether it involves an analysis of boundaries, the geographical patterns resulting from the application of governmental authority, the changing political patterns through a democratic framework, an assessment of international relations and relations with neighbour, or the political viability of new state units.

This book has been written on the basic thoughts outlined in the preceding paragraph. India is the largest democracy in the world, and it contains a wide range of political and geographic differences as well as similarities throughout the country which complicates the process of evaluation of the existing patterns. Some of these differences and similarities are created by political forces. Thus, this study has attempted to associate spatial patterns with various political forces affecting the changing patterns.

The author has attempted to present the physical and economic base of the Indian Republic in order to evaluate the impact of these geographical considerations on the political and economic

[1] Richard Hartshorne, "Political Geography in the Modern World," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 4, 1960, p. 52.

viability of the nation. A description and interpretation of the changing political map of India have been discussed in order to anticipate future changes. The new emerging patterns of political party strength are in a state of constant change with breath-taking rapidity which brings insecurity to the masses and instability to the nation. The bases of this change are social conditions, economic differences, personality conflicts and a political life that has been undergoing revolutionary transformation for the last twenty-two years. Boundary problems and external relations with neighbours as well as with major world power blocs are analysed as an approach in evaluating the prospects of the changing patterns in the region. The author anticipates future developments in the light of changed conditions since independence through the impact of constantly changing patterns. In evaluating the politico-geographic patterns, the author has attempted to balance generalizations with pertinent detail and examples. The task of analysing the above patterns of India is complicated due to unique situations existing in the country, such as the non-involvement and neutral policy of India, the presence of hostile neighbours on her borders, the large number of political parties with differing ideologies and the constantly changing nature of these patterns especially after independence.

Political geography as an important branch of Geography has been neglected in India. As David E. Sopher in his article pertaining to the historical development of Indian geography put it, "Political geography is almost unknown; one might wish especially for objective and rigorous assessment of India's internal political geography in place of the outdated geopolitics that one still comes across."[2] One of the principal reasons for writing this book is to fill in the existing gap in the geographical literature pertaining to the political geography of the Indian Republic. It may also pave the way for geographical studies of lesser scope on different aspects of political geography of south and southeast Asia. It has been the aim of the author to present a broad picture of the changing politico-geographic patterns of India; thus, a detailed discussion of the component problems was considered outside the scope of this book. The lack of details in many cases will be more than offset by the attempt at clearness of purpose and the adherence to a rigid definition of what the field of political geography encompasses. It is the author's hope that this book meets the major requirements outlined by the various eminent scholars of political geography. The author has consulted various sources published in the western world, China and Pakistan in order to curb the bias he would otherwise have by virtue of being an Indian national; whether he has succeeded in this endeavour can be judged only by the reader.

---

[2] David E. Sopher, "A Generation of Indian Geography," *Geographical Review*, LV, No. 2, (April, 1965), 285.

B. L. SUKHWAL

Platteville, Wisconsin, USA
August 15, 1971

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The author takes this opportunity to express his sincere thanks and heartfelt gratitude to Dr Arthur H. Doerr, formerly the chairman of the Department of Geography and Regents' Professor, University of Oklahoma and currently the Vice-President, Academic Affairs, West Florida University, Pensacola, Florida, for his creative criticism and helpful advice during the preparation of this book. The author also wishes to express his gratitude to Dr Ralph E. Olson for generously giving his valuable time, helpful suggestions and creative criticism. Similarly, the author will always cherish his debt to Dr G. Etzel Pearcy, formerly the Geographer in the Department of State, Washington, D. C. and at present the Chairman, California State College at Los Angeles, who has kindly contributed the Foreword to this book.

The author extends his thanks to Dr Robert D. Hodgson, Office of the Geographer, Department of State; the Staff of the Information Service, Embassy of India; Mr Ranjan Borra, Librarian South Asian Section, the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.; the Librarian of the University of Oklahoma, Norman and the University of Wisconsin, Madison, for their generous help in providing valuable source material for this book. The author is also highly obliged to Mr and Mrs Jai Dev Sharma, Dr and Mrs A. N. Bhattacharya, Mr and Mrs Edgar W. Brewer and Professor Balfour S. Whitney for their encouragement.

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

HISTORICAL FOUNDATION OF THE INDIAN REPUBLIC

ANCIENT PERIOD

"India forms an integral part of Mackinder's "World Island," that is, the Eur-African-Asiatic land mass, the most important single geographical unit of the world."[1] The Indian Republic has inherited several cultural, racial, linguistic, religious and politico-administrative legacies from the historical past that are affecting the present geopolitical structure of the country. The Aryan invaders who pushed the Dravidians (the original inhabitants) to south India gave a new culture to the north which is still evident in current politics. The Aryans' territory in the early Vedic period (at least 4,500 years ago) seems to have extended roughly from the 28th to the 37th parallel north latitude and from 68° to 80° E. longitude[2] (Fig. 1). The restriction of Aryans to this area was mainly due to the geographical factors which discouraged their expansion, the Thar desert on the south and southwest, the Sulaiman mountains on the west and the thick monsoon forests on the east (Fig. 1). In their eastward march the Aryans mingled with and largely absorbed the indigenous people because they needed them as workers. Much racial intermingling probably took place. The indigenous people were enslaved by their Aryan masters, and thus a fourth racial group of servants or artisans (Sudra, the lowest in the caste hierarchy)

[1] G. E. Pearcy, *World Political Geography* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1957), pp. 517-18.

[2] D.P. Saxena, "Regional Divisions of India: A Study in Ancient Indian Geography," *National Geographical Journal of India*, VIII, Parts 3 and 4 (September-December, 1962), 228-37.

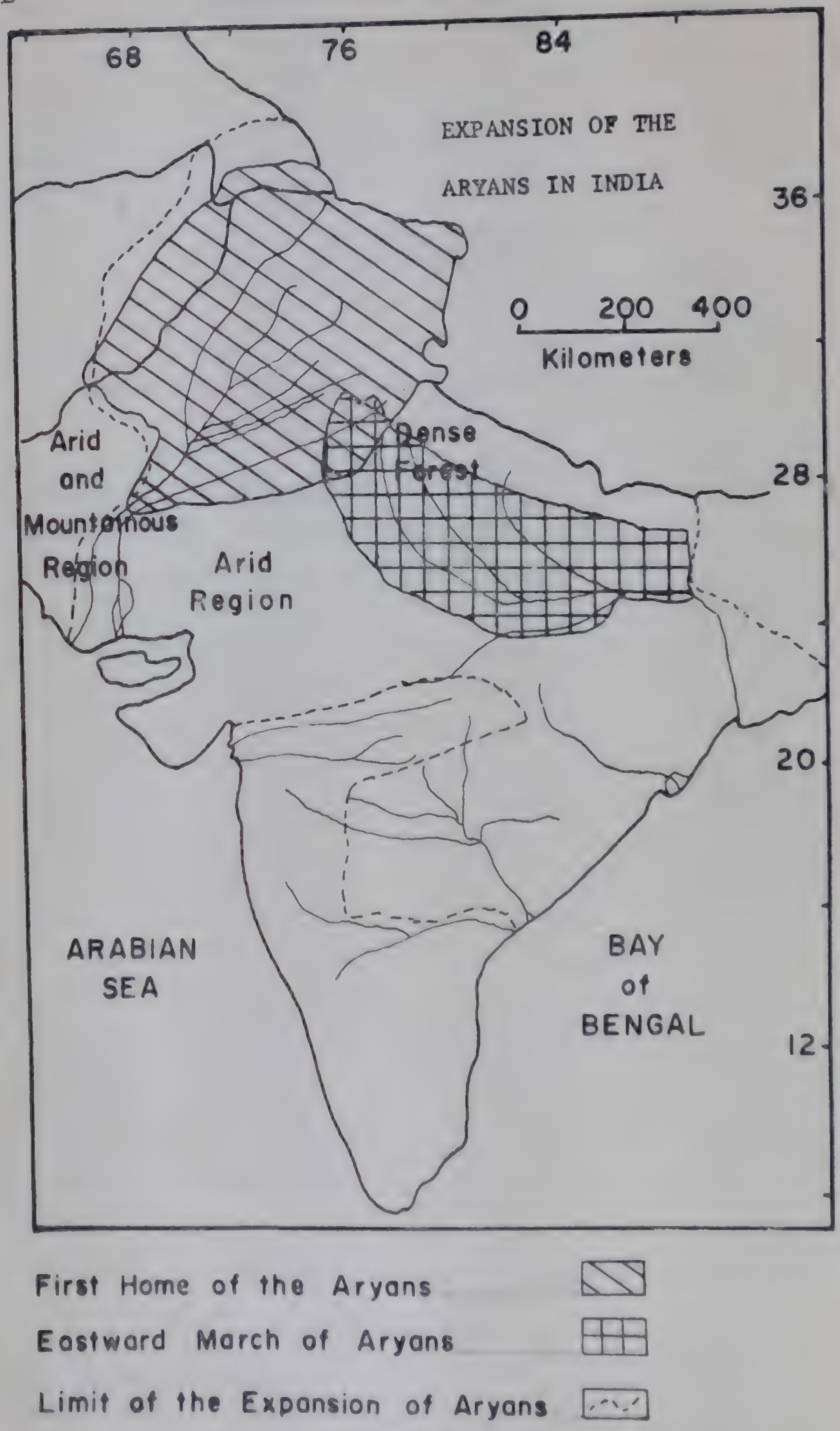
68
76
84
EXPANSION OF THE ARYANS IN INDIA
36
0 200 400
Kilometers
Dense Forest
28
Arid and Mountainous Region
Arid Region
20
ARABIAN SEA
BAY of BENGAL
12
First Home of the Aryans
Eastward March of Aryans
Limit of the Expansion of Aryans

FIG. 1

was recognized. Territorial boundaries were never fixed because the Aryans were moving in all directions and further extending their colonization (Fig. 1). But the Aryans were not able to control the deep south.

With the coming of the Aryan domination, there developed a distinct racial group (Aryan-Caucasian), speaking Sanskrit and associated languages, with a highly developed culture, and practising a kind of nature worship which is still a part of Indian culture. Already in this early period, social, religious and political laws were formulated as described in the four Vedic (ancient literary books) and other religious books. The class system which the Aryans brought with them changed and eventually became a rigid caste system.

Following a long peaceful period of racial mixing, a significant change occurred with the invasion of India by Alexander of Macedonia in 326 B.C. At this time, India was united under the able leadership of Chandragupta Maurya, assisted by his equally able adviser, the Chanakya (Kautilya). The Empire of Chandragupta Maurya extended from the Hindu Kush in the north to Tanjore in the south and from the Indus Valley to beyond the Hooghly River.[3] In the third century B.C. Ashoka (the grandson of Chandragupta Maurya) ruled 40 years, and his rule extended over almost the whole of the subcontinent (Fig. 2). Ashoka was the greatest and noblest ruler India has ever known, and indeed one of the great kings of the world. This greatness has motivated the Indian Republic to adopt as its state seal the capital of an Ashoka column.

Following the time of the Maurya dynasty another important regime was that of the Guptas which has been called, "the Golden Age of India." In the period between the Mauryas (4th to 2nd century B.C.) and the Guptas (A.D. 4th to 7th century) anarchy frequently prevailed. In the post-Mauryan period, the regional kingdoms were dominated and political unity was lost, although a cultural unity was maintained to some extent. In the best days of the Gupta empire, Indian culture reached a perfection which it

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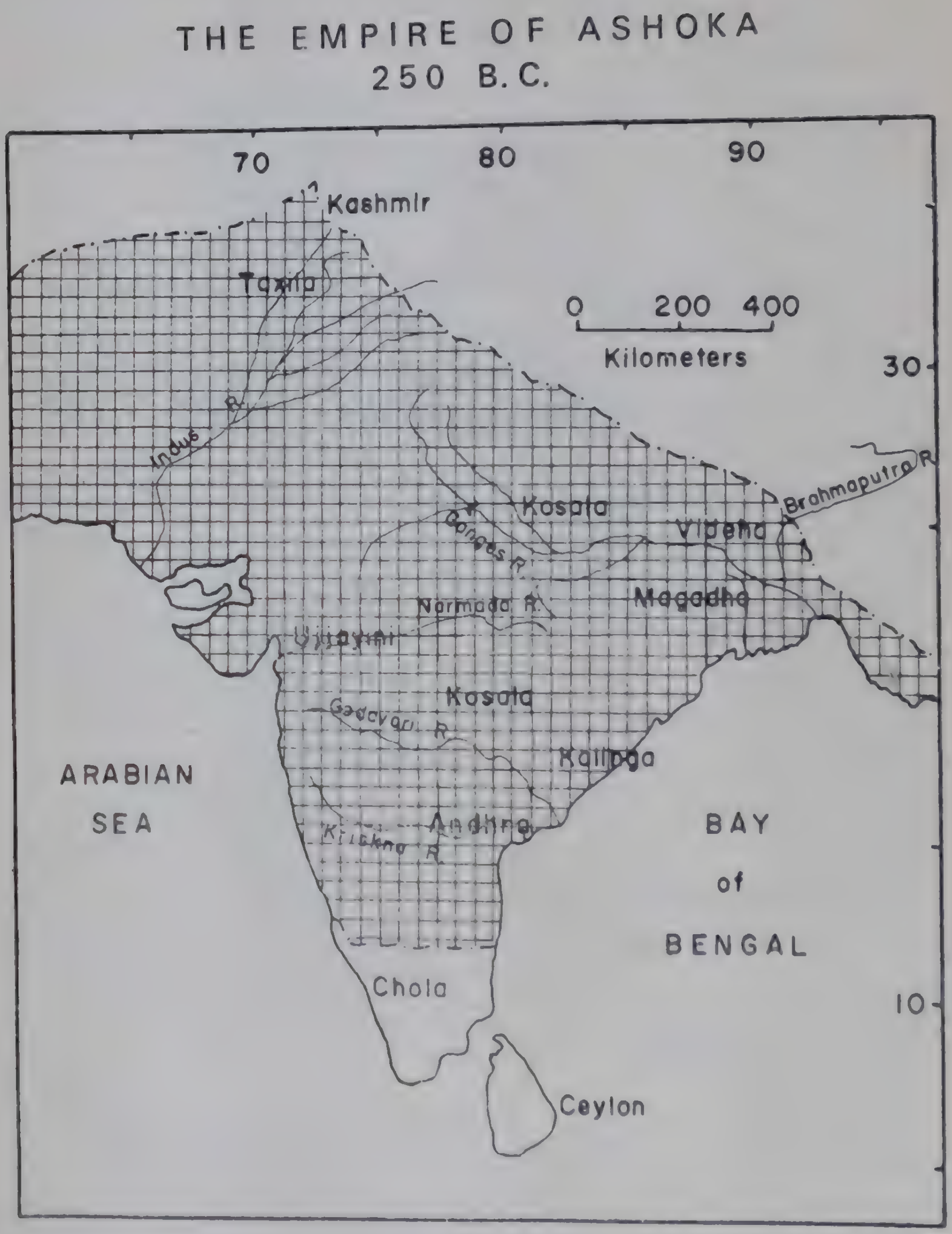
[3] Sir George Dunbar, *India and the Passing of Empire* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1950), p. 7.



THE EMPIRE OF ASHOKA
250 B.C.

70
80
90
30
10
Kashmir
Taxila
0 200 400
Kilometers
Indus R.
Kosala
Ganges R.
Videha
Brahmaputra R.
Magadha
Narmada R.
Ujjayini
Kosala
Godavari R.
Kalinga
ARABIAN SEA
Andhra
Krishna R.
BAY of BENGAL
Chola
Ceylon

FIG. 2

was never again to attain.[4] The Mauryan empire promoted the concept of a universal emperor (Chakravartin). In both of these periods, India was governed as a kind of constitutional monarchy in which a large number of persons had some say in the government, excluding, however, the *Ganas* or tribes in the east. The various kingdoms of India were divided into provinces, districts and village units, a pattern which is still existing in the form of states, districts and village panchayats with five-man councils. The village councils existed all over India and were part of the state machinery. Several important influences of these early periods are still evident in India, such as in the village panchayat and court systems, the system of electing panchayat committees by universal adult suffrage, the landownership and revenue system. But, due to lack of political unity, regional feelings continued strong. Moreover, due to decentralization, a strong central authority was not traditional, although regionally the king was the supreme authority. Kings were always careful to respect the public feeling. As Basham puts it, "Kings were invariably advised to keep a finger on the pulse of public feeling, and never to offend it too bluntly."[5] The south was not under the influence of the early Hindu empires and thus retained its separate languages and regional distinction.

A short period of Rajput domination between the Gupta and the Mogul empires left a legacy of Rajas and Maharajas which kept the Indian republic fragmented. The small Rajput kingdoms were frequently fighting each other, and the same kind of regional jealousies continued until the independence of India was achieved. Between the Aryan and later Mogul invasions, other incursions by Greeks, Sakas, Kusanas, Mongols, Afghans, Persians and Turkic peoples brought new influences from the west. Some of these influences are still very strong in India.

MOGUL PERIOD

The second important period of Indian history is the Mogul period. This period began in the 12th century A.D. and lasted

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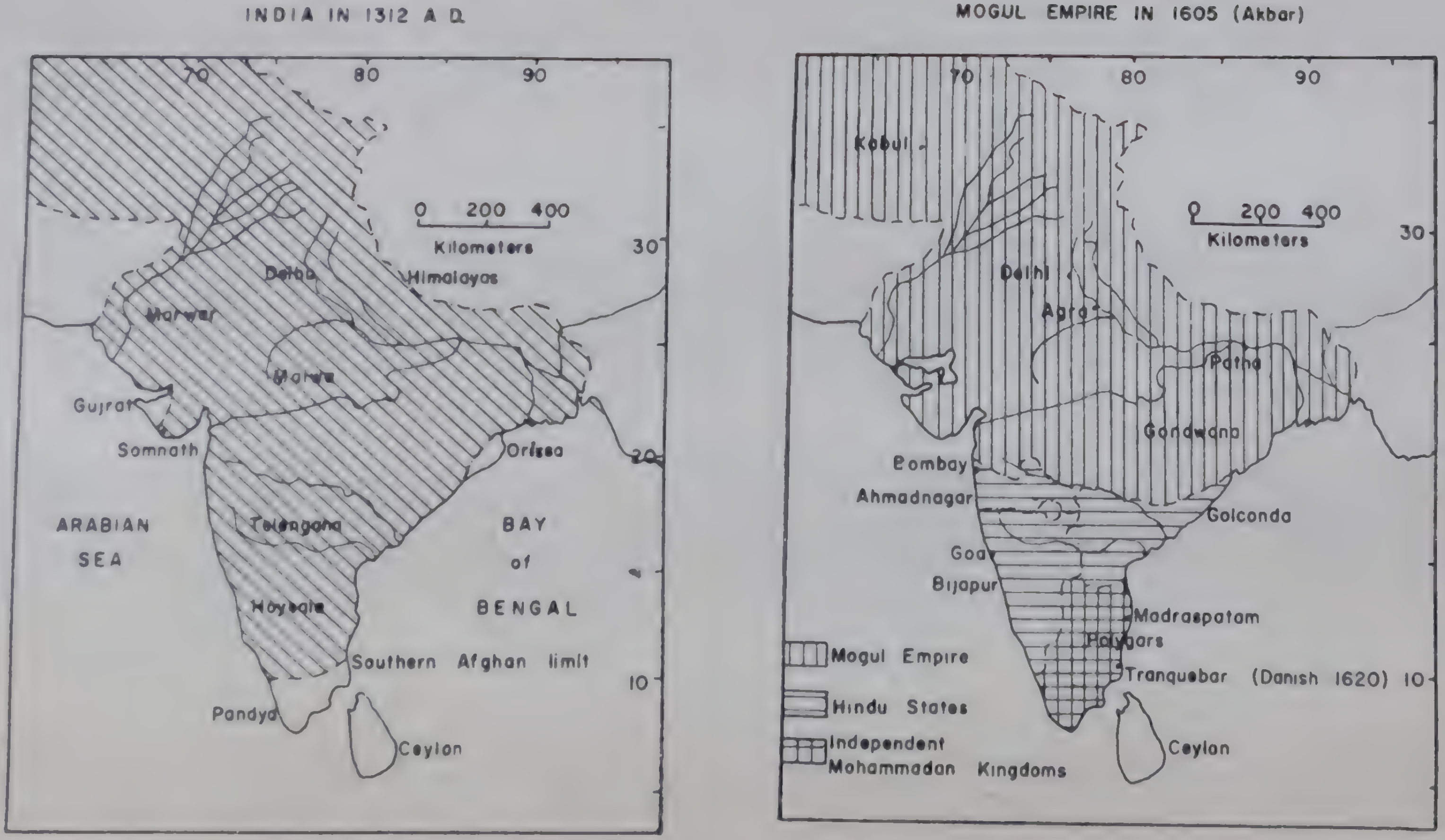
[4] A.L. Basham, *The Wonder that was India* (London: Sidwick and Jackson, 1954), p. 66.

[5] A.L. Basham, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

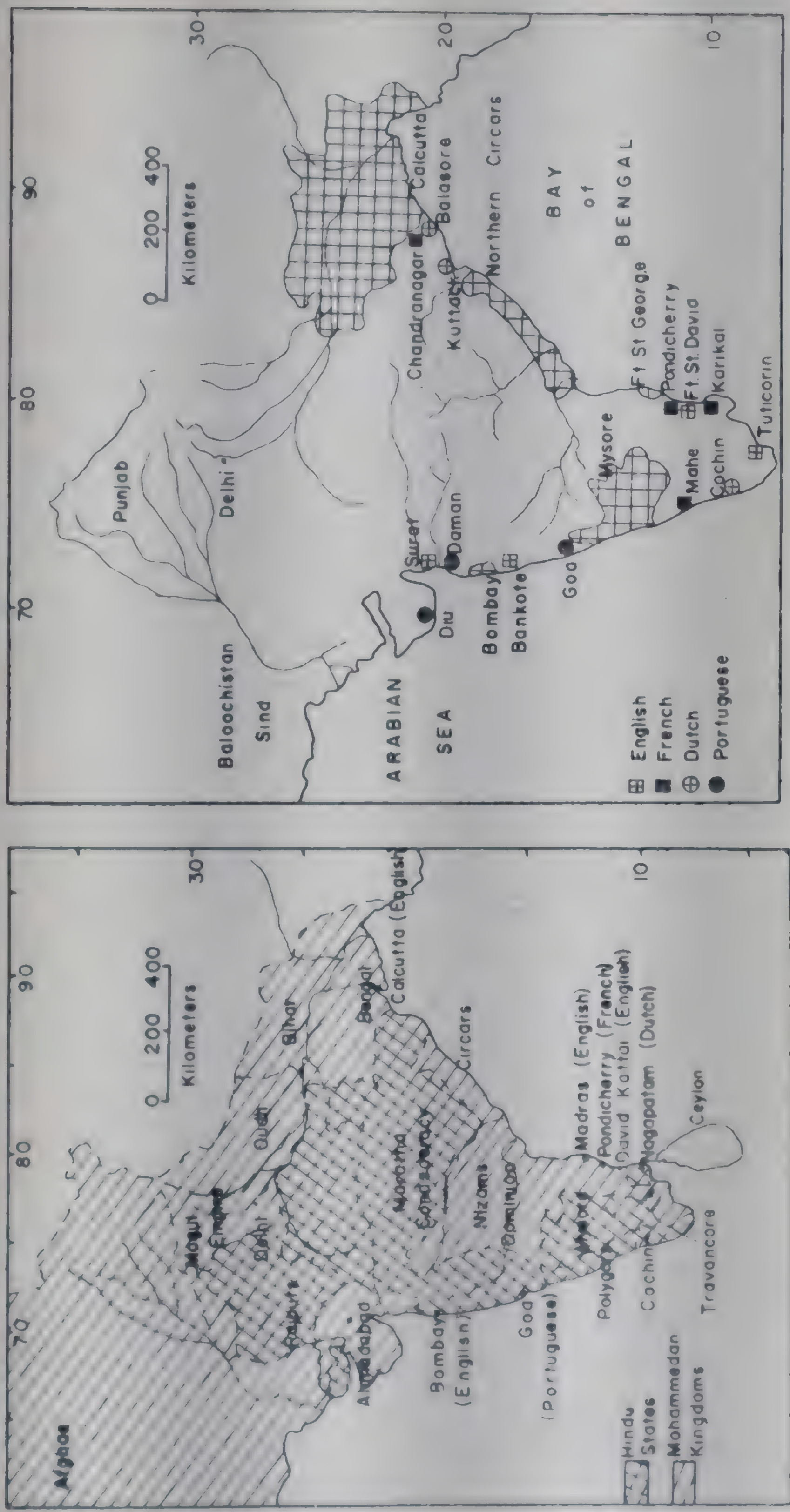
THE UNIFICATION OF INDIA UNDER MOGUL EMPIRE



INDIA IN 1312 A.D.

MOGUL EMPIRE IN 1605 (Akbar)

70
80
90
30
20
10
0 200 400
Kilometers
Himalayas
Delhi
Marwar
Malwa
Gujrat
Somnath
Orissa
ARABIAN SEA
BAY of BENGAL
Telingana
Hoysala
Southern Afghan limit
Pandya
Ceylon
Kabul
Delhi
Agra
Patna
Gondwana
Bombay
Ahmadnagar
Golconda
Goa
Bijapur
Madraspatam
Polygars
Tranquebar (Danish 1620)
Mogul Empire
Hindu States
Independent Mohammadan Kingdoms



INDIA IN 1752 A.D.

INDIA IN 1784 A D

0 200 400
Kilometers
70
80
90
30
10
Afghan
Mogul Empire
Delhi
Oudh
Bihar
Bengal
Calcutta (English)
Rajputs
Ahmedabad
Maratha
Gondwana
Nizams Dominion
Circars
Bombay (English)
Goa (Portuguese)
Mysore
Polygars
Cochin
Travancore
Madras (English)
Pondicherry (French)
David Kottai (English)
Nagapatam (Dutch)
Ceylon
Hindu States
Mohammedan Kingdoms
0 200 400
Kilometers
70
80
90
30
20
10
Punjab
Delhi
Baloochistan
Sind
ARABIAN SEA
Diu
Surat
Daman
Bombay
Bankote
Goa
Chandranagar
Calcutta
Balasore
Kuttack
Northern Circars
BAY of BENGAL
Mysore
Ft St George
Pondicherry
Ft St David
Karikal
Mahe
Cochin
Tuticorin
English
French
Dutch
Portuguese

FIG. 3

until the British influence became strong. During the 16th and 17th centuries the Mogul emperors unified north India and much of the Deccan. This unification was the first to be achieved since the time of the Gupta Empire (Fig. 3). Even within the unified Mogul empires, some independent states still existed, such as the Rajput and Maratha kingdoms. Several important Mogul emperors extended their domains, and especially significant among them was Akbar. Akbar united the Hindus and Muslims, and treated them fairly equally. He was more sympathetic towards Hindus than were the other Muslim emperors. During his rule the Islamic and Hindu motifs were blended into a perfect unity. On the other hand, Akbar's successors were very cruel to Hindus, and Hindu-Muslim animosity became characteristic under these strong Muslim emperors. The Muslims converted many Hindus into the Islamic faith by imposing various religious taxes and by using force. Advancement to real power depended upon being a Muslim, with the result that a number of Hindus were converted to the victorious faith.[6] Most of the Muslims in India and Pakistan are descendants of converted Hindus.

Several important legacies of Islam are noticeable in Indian culture of the present. Muslims brought to India their own literature, artistic traditions, the Islamic religion, and a different culture than had existed in India since the Vedic age. At times, the Muslims were zealous in their attacks upon Hinduism. In turn, Hinduism tightened its ranks to defend itself against the threat. But some interaction continued to take place between both these communities, and there evolved the Sikh religion, the Hindustani language, fresh ideas, blended values and new artistic designs. Hindus adopted the veil system from Muslims. The religious differences between Muslims and Hindus became the root cause of the division of India into two dominions, the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The recent communal disturbances in both India and Pakistan are due to two different religious as well as contrasting political ideologies.

---

[6] Helen G. Matthew, ed., *Asia in the Modern World* (New York: The New American Library, 1963), p. 170.

BRITISH PERIOD

In the 18th century the Mogul empire broke down, and the British established a hold on various parts of India. By the middle of the 19th century the whole of India was either directly ruled by Britain, or governed indirectly through petty princes with local autonomy (Fig. 17). At the time the British left the country in 1947, the map of India, excluding the area of Pakistan, was divided into nine British provinces and 562 Indian States. By trying to satisfy the petty local rulers, British tactics encouraged regional rivalry, economic inefficiency, extravagant expenditure by the princes, and general negligence of the masses by the rulers. The British followed this policy of divide and rule throughout their stay in India and eventually assisted in dividing the country into two separate nations. India inherited a bureaucratic administrative system which is still largely intact and causes serious troubles.

In summary, the history of India reveals an endless succession of invasions by various peoples, resulting in a complex range of ethnic groupings and cultural types. There are many important languages, religions, forms of art and architecture, regional economic differences, diversified political ideologies, and an overall sense of social stratification. The long historical background suggests why the political patterns of India are so complicated.

During the period of British colonial rule the Indian subcontinent was politically fragmented, economically unviable, and culturally diverse to a degree that both distressed and challenged the new national leaders. After independence in 1947, India was confronted with several acute problems which changed many geographical patterns existing prior to that time. India was partitioned on a religious basis, and this partition caused an unprecedented movement of population from one political unit to another, creating major problems in finding food, housing and employment for refugees.

Prior to independence India, as we have seen, was divided into 562 small princely states and nine British provinces. To consolidate these small fragmented areas into larger geographical units was a great problem for Indian leaders. The consolidation created new economic, political, cultural and other geographical patterns, and there followed a major reorganization and magnification of many existing problems. Among the outstanding problems was the uneven distribution of natural resources, which magnified the task of economic development, especially in establishing new industries in all states on an equal basis. Further, fragmentation of the existing political structure resulted in such a power vacuum that the Congress Party for many years had no effective opposition, and still it is holding this power.

The Central Government, dominated by the Congress Party, had to face the formidable task of incorporating foreign enclaves, developing offshore islands and creating friendly relations with neighbouring independent units. At the time of independence there were several French and Portuguese enclaves, offshore islands and small independent kingdoms within, or adjacent to, the Indian subcontinent. It was essential for India either to absorb these areas or to maintain friendly relations with them. In subsequent developments both approaches were employed in handling this problem.

In addition to the task of establishing friendly relations with the small neighbouring countries, India has had to seek a way to deal effectively with China. The Chinese ideology of Communism is profoundly dissimilar to Indian democracy. The political and ideological differences between India and China created a threat not only to India but to the whole of Asia.

Indian political relations have been equally unsatisfactory with the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. Pakistani nationhood, which likewise dates from the 1947 partition, is based upon religious concepts which are contrary to the principles of the Indian secular state. The hostility between India and Pakistan has been intensified because of the Kashmir question.

The problems of nationhood are numerous and complex, not only because of India's size, population and the great number of languages spoken within its borders, but also because the nation has chosen to solve its problems within the framework of parliamentary democracy. Finding solutions to the various problems becomes more cumbersome because India is like a museum of races and cultures, cults and customs, and faiths and tongues, with a vast gap between the rich and the poor and between the educated and the illiterate. Nevertheless, despite this diversity there is a considerable degree of unity in India, a unity characterized by love of country, devotion to democratic principles, some common historical bonds, at least some elements of cultural similarity, and certain common interests which cement the Indian nation and population together.

CHAPTER
II

Physical Setting

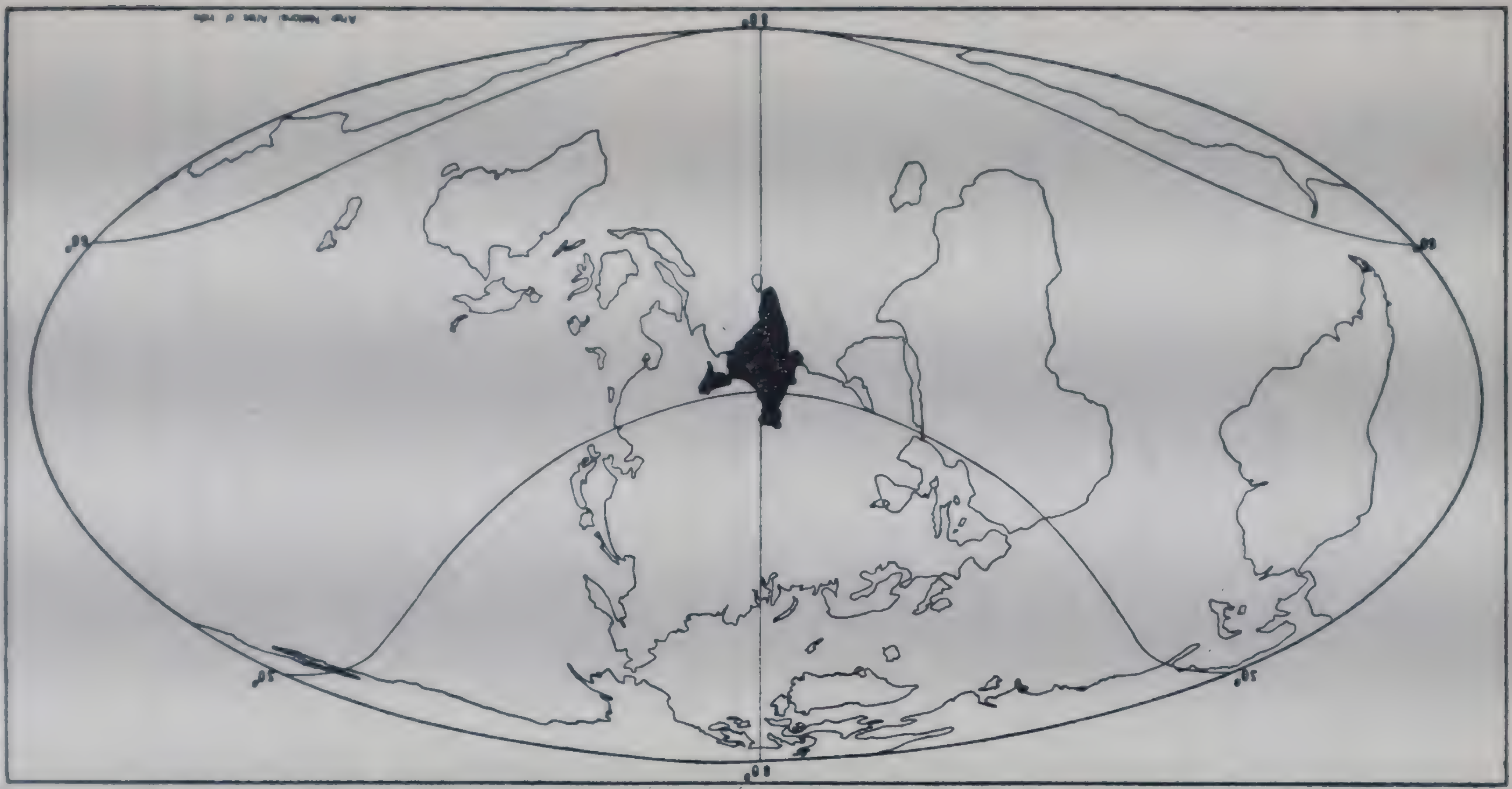
India, the seventh most extensive and second most populous country, is the largest democracy in the world. Lying in the northern hemisphere, it extends between latitudes 8°4′18″ and 37°17′53″ N. and longitudes 68°7′33″ and 97°24′47″ E. It measures about 3,219 kilometers from north to south, 2,977 kilometers from east to west, and covers an area of 3,267,053 square kilometers. It has a land frontier 15,168 kilometers long and a coastline of 5,689 kilometers (Fig. 4).

Physiographically, India can be divided into four well-defined divisions, each of which has a direct or indirect impact on the political setting of the country. These divisions are: (1) the Himalayas, (2) the Great Plain of Northern India, (3) the Southern Peninsula, and (4) the Coastal Plains (Fig. 5).

THE HIMALAYAS

Strategically, the most important division is the Himalayan mountain chain. This range is the world's highest mountain system, and one of the longest, extending almost uninterruptedly for a distance of 2,500 kilometers. Three more or less parallel ranges are evident, the Greater Zanskar Range, often known as the Inner Himalayas; the Lesser or Pangi Range, sometimes called the Middle Himalayas; and the Siwalik or Pirpanjal Range which has been designated the Outer Himalayas. In each range the southern slope is steep, whereas the northern slope is much gentler. "The northern slopes are generally forest clad below the snow line, but the southern slopes are too precipitous either to accumulate snow or to support more than a sparse tree

INDIA AND THE WORLD



After National Atlas of India

Fig. 4

growth, except in valley basins."[1] The Greater Himalayan Range begins at the peak of Nanga Parbat near the bend of the Indus, and extends southeastward and eastward to the Brahmaputra gorge. Its average elevation is 7,000 meters, and its average width is 25 kilometers.

The Lesser Himalayan Range, which rarely rises to more than 5,000 meters, has a width of 80 to 100 kilometers. The Outer Himalayan Range spreads over a zone some 15 to 50 kilometers in width, with an average elevation of 900 to 1,300 meters. The Himalayas are succeeded on the north by lesser ranges which further tend to separate India from her Chinese neighbour.

On the east the mountain wall between India and Burma is called by different names in different places. For example, in the north it is called the Patkai Hills, but farther south these become the Naga Hills. Still farther southward are the Lushai Hills, and finally the Arakan Yoma which reach the sea at Cape Negrais and continue in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. These hills are, for the most part, clothed with dense humid forests. The Himalayan and eastern boundary mountains directly influence the political geography of India.

Isolation from the Continent of Asia

India is clearly set apart from the rest of Asia by a broad no-man's land of mountains, jungle covered on the India-Burma frontier, ice bound on the India-Tibet border, and desert (Thar) in the west. The almost impassable Himalayas isolate India from Tibet on the north, and the two flanking highlands, the Hindukush in the west and the Lushai Hills in the east, are continuous with them, thus isolating the subcontinent from Asia. K.M. Panikkar asserted that "politically India was isolated from the rest of the continent and became introspective in its attitude."[2] Isolation inhibited India's development of international relations. The only doctrine followed in the ancient and medieval periods by powerful rulers like Ashoka and Akbar was to bring all of India under one control. At no time in its history has India had a policy of external aggression.

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[1] Raye R. Platt, ed., *India: A Compendium* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1962), p. 11.

[2] K.M. Panikkar, *Geographical Factors in Indian History* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1955), p. 50.

STRATEGIC LOCATION

India's northern border is a linguistic and cultural divide as well as a natural barrier. Unfortunately, the natural barrier role is less obvious in the space and missile age. The 1962 invasion demonstrated the fallacy of natural barriers in national defence.

Little cultural intercourse, however, has occurred across the Himalayas. The lack of penetration from the north during most of the nation's history developed in Indians a false sense of security, a kind of "Maginot Line" mentality.[3] This mentality was self-evident in 1962 when China invaded India, and the Indians were not prepared for such an invasion. In earlier times, the Chinese were unable to organize a strong military presence in Tibet and, as a result, India was left to bask in the sun of complacency. The recent invasion destroyed the mountain barrier myth, and India, with her psychological protection destroyed, stood naked and afraid in the world.

PASS ROUTES

The Himalayas, of course, are not quite impenetrable, but overland travel is very difficult and dangerous. A few passes are used for the transporting of goods on the back of man or beast. Tibet is reached from Srinagar across the Zoji-La to Leh and thence across the Karakoram Pass, perhaps the best known and most important pass in the whole mountain system. The Aksai Chin road in Ladakh is the first trans-Himalayan motor road to be kept open throughout the year. Between Punjab and Tibet, the K-Lang, the Shipki and the Niti passes are of some importance, but for hundreds of miles farther east there is no route across the Himalayas until Darjeeling is reached.

The Jelep La and Nathu La are the important passes between Sikkim and Bhutan on the main Indo-Tibetan trade route

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. 51.

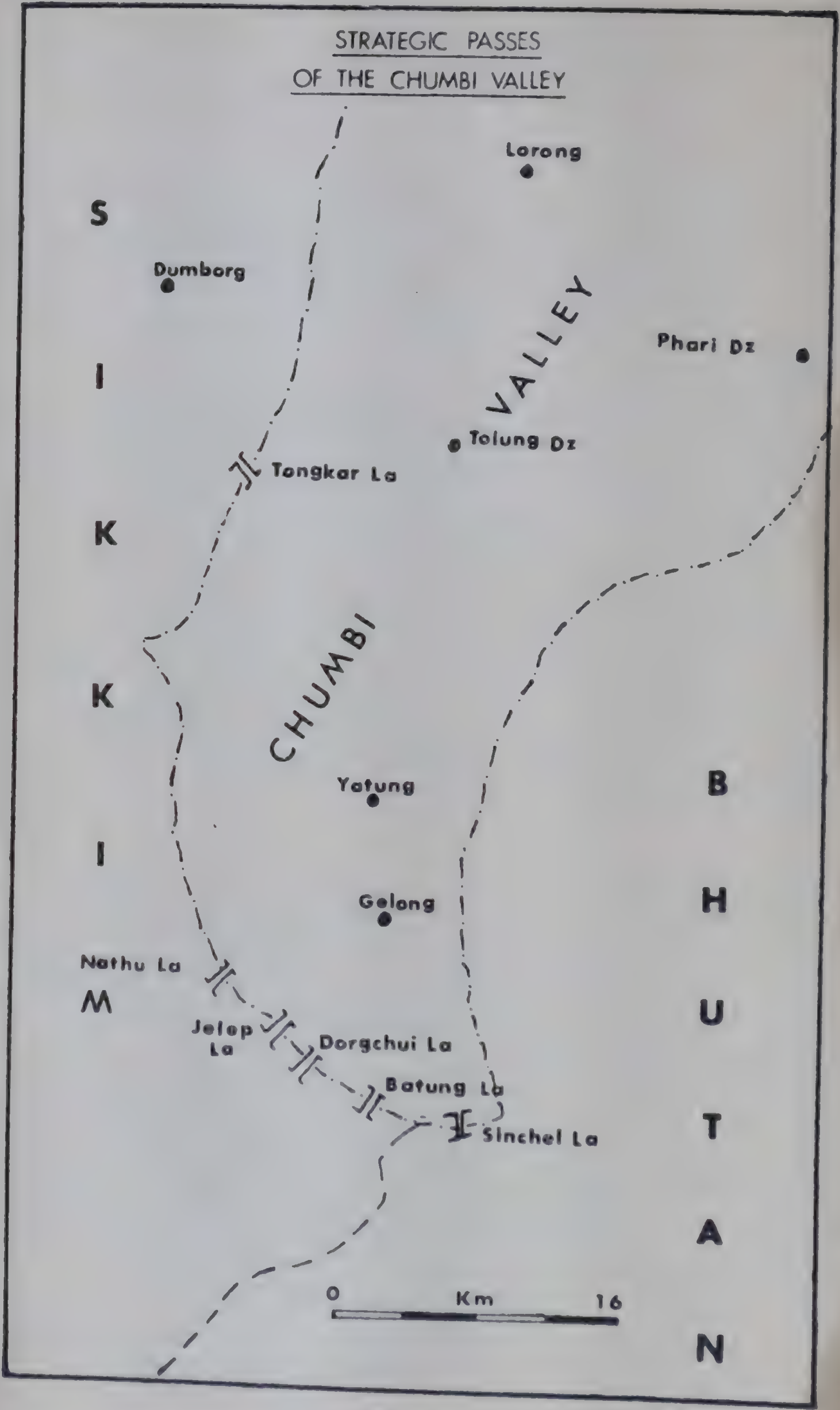
STRATEGIC PASSES
OF THE CHUMBI VALLEY
Lorong
SIKKIM
Dumborg
VALLEY
Phari Dz
Tolung Dz
Tongkar La
CHUMBI
Yatung
BHUTAN
Gelong
Nathu La
Jelep La
Dorgchui La
Batung La
Sinchel La
0 Km 16

FIG. 6

through the Chumbi Valley, northeast of Darjeeling (Fig. 6). From India to Burma there are half a dozen routes, none of them much used. In northern Burma there is the Jukawng Valley route and the Tulu gap route, but a somewhat easier route is through Manipur. This latter route was followed by the allied troops who drove the Japanese out of Burma in 1945. The An and Taugup passes merely link central Burma with the Arakan Range. From the Indian side, movement by sea to the Irrawaddy delta channels was far easier and of great importance in Burma's history.[4] Cultural mixing in the subcontinent came largely from the northwest rather than from the north or northeast.

CLIMATIC INFLUENCE

The Himalayan mountainous zone isolates the deep interior of Asia from the influence of warm air from the south, and it protects India from the cold blizzards generated by the continental winter high pressure system of northeastern and central Asia. The upland barrier creates a difference of 20° to 30° F in both winter and summer temperatures between the lowland below and the northern face of the mountains. It serves as a screen within which the Indian monsoon operates. The moisture-laden winds blowing off the Indian Ocean are blocked by the Himalayas, and hence the interior of Asia receives very little rainfall.

CATCHMENT AREA FOR RIVERS

Physically, the Himalayas have acted as a great catchment area for the runoff from the annual monsoon rains. Their slopes yield the water which irrigates and fertilizes the great plains of northern India. Important hydroelectric development has been possible in the foothills of the Himalayas. The availability of water and the regularity of flow for both irrigation and power support an aura of relative well being and social stability reflected in the politics of the north at least until 1967. In contrast,

[4] W. Gordon East and O. K. H. Spate, *The Changing Map of Asia: A Political Geography* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1958), p. 132.

the lack of reliable moisture due to the uncertainty of river flow and the general capriciousness of the southern streams is perhaps reflected in the political turmoil of peninsular India.

THE GREAT PLAIN OF NORTHERN INDIA

Between peninsular India and the Himalayan mountains lies the alluvial plain of the Sutlej, the Ganges-Jumna, and the Brahmaputra rivers, commonly referred to in its entirety as the Great Plain of Northern India. This plain is approximately 2,400 kilometers long, with a width varying from 150 to 500 kilometers and a total area of 770,000 square kilometers. It is one of the largest alluvial plains in the world. The gradient of the plain is so gentle that over most of the surface it is imperceptible to the eye. A notable feature of the plain is the immense thickness and uniform character of the alluvium which forms the subsoil of the plain. The plain has had a number of direct and indirect influences on the political geography of the country.

CONCENTRATION OF POPULATION

The level Great Plain of India with its deep, fertile, stoneless, alluvial soils, and its many rivers, is the most favourable and most desirable part of the subcontinent.[5] The four rich states of the plain, Punjab (Punjab and Haryana), Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal, in which about 40 per cent of the country's population live, support one of the densest populations in the world. This plain's region has a population considerably greater than that of the whole United States, packed into an area about one-tenth as large.[6] The plain supports, primarily in an outdated agricultural way of life, an average density comparable to that of industrialized Britain. Several important cities, however, are located in the plain. Overall, the high concentration of population presents a host of food supply, health, employment and other types of problems.

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[5] Harry Robinson, *Monsoon Asia: A Geographical Survey* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), p. 114.

[6] L. H. G. Dobby, *Monsoon Asia* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, Inc., 1961), p. 230.

CENTRE OF POLITICAL POWER

The northern plain has remained throughout history the centre of Indian political power, and the capital of the country has always been situated in the plain. Delhi and Patna have at various times served as the political capital. Currently, the headquarters of many important political parties, such as the Congress Party, the Jana Sangh Party and the Jan Kranti Dal Party are located on this plain.

The northern plain has been coveted by several invaders, helping to make this region the great melting pot of cultures. It is on the northern plain that the whole modern drama of race conflict versus race assimilation was played out, a drama which finally shaped the political and cultural destiny of both India and its neighbour Pakistan. The traditional role of the northern plain as the focus of political power may change with the advent of industrialc oncentrations in the peninsula. It is possible, however, that this industrialization may change only the distributional pattern of economic activities and not the locus of political power.

THE UNITY OF THE NATION

The people of the northern plain have always favoured the political unification of the country. During its history the northern plain has been more easily brought under one empire, whereas elsewhere Indian geography has tended to divide instead of unification. Because of its flat nature it was easy to develop transportation routes across the plain, to organize armies among its dense population, to exercise control from the capital (which was always situated in the heart of the plain), and to attain steady crop production to support the population.

The north-south division of the nation is very prominent even at the present time in Indian politics. Since independence, most of the strong politicians and freedom fighters of India have been trained here on the plain. All important political parties sprang up here, and the central cabinet is dominated by the politicians of the plain. Due to its high density of population, the northern plain has more representatives than any other physical region and thus dominates the nation's politics. The important government portfolios, such as the Prime Minister, Home Minister and Defence Minister, have all so far been held by politicians from this region.

SOUTHERN PENINSULA

The southern peninsula is geographically a very important part of the Indian subcontinent. It is separated from the northern plain by the Satpura, the Mahadeo, the Maikal and the Sarguja Hills, sometimes known together as the Satpura line. It extends into Rajasthan on the west and has a kind of outlier in the Assam plateau on the east (Fig. 2). The southern plateau affects the political situation in a number of ways, among others is that it contains almost all the mineralized areas of the country. In the northeast portion of the plateau, in Bihar, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh, India's most important iron, mica and manganese mines are located. In the south, in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh and Mysore, iron, manganese, diamonds, thorium and gold are mined. In the northwest, in Rajasthan, and in the centre, in Madhya Pradesh, lead, zinc, uranium and mica are produced. Most of India's coal supply occurs in Bihar and West Bengal, both in the plateau area, although coal-bearing beds are also found in the Mahanadi Valley of Madhya Pradesh, in Orissa and in Andhra Pradesh.

These mineralized areas are now the sites of extensive mining, and they have industrialized urban centres which are centres for capital accumulation. The often heard cry for establishing comparable industries in other regions is economically unsound. The mining industrial labour force has created political chaos and eventually unstable government in the region.

Another important political implication of the peninsula is in the importance of this region as an agriculturally rich area, especially for commercial crops. The fertile black lava region extends from the Aravalli Hills in the north to the Belgaum District (now in Mysore State) in the south, and covers a large part of Kutch, Kathiawar, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Rajasthan. The region is particularly important for commercial crops like cotton, oil seeds, tobacco, coffee, rubber and peanuts. The low lying plains area of the peninsula are important for growing rice. The fertile black soil (lava) region corresponds roughly with the Marathi-speaking region. Belgaum became a bone of contention in a border dispute between Maharashtra and Mysore, because the Belgaum District is the only black cotton soil area in Mysore and, at the same time, is linguistically akin to Maharashtra.

The Indian peninsula has had a certain isolating effect, with the Satpura line acting as a barrier against the spread of Aryans from the north and Dravidians from the south. The central part of the range is sufficiently accessible to permit the passage of armies but difficult enough to hamper their reinforcement.[7]

Most of the semi-feudal, princely states which existed before their absorption into India, shortly after independence were located in the central part of the plateau. In the north-eastern forested hills dwell many of India's 30,000,000 aboriginal people. These tribal people are still very faithful to the old princes. They elected coalition governments in Madhya Pradesh and in Orissa consisting of Swatantra as a majority party (most of the princes joined the Swatantra Party) to show their faithfulness to the princes. These coalitions resulted in the ouster of the Congress Party from power. These coalitions have recently been broken down.

COASTAL PLAINS

The western coastal plain is composed of fertile alluvial soil which supports a flourishing agriculture. In the northern part, the Gujarat coast contains the important industrial and textile centres of Ahmedabad and Bombay, and the newly developed oil-producing areas of Ankleshwar, Gujarat. The Kanara-Konkan coast (Bombay to Mangalore) contains rich agricultural land and the important iron ore producing area of Goa.

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[7] Percival Spear, "India: The Political History," in *Asia: A Handbook*, edited by Guy Wint (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 57.

The Malabar coast is the most densely settled area in the whole of India. It is a rich cashew, coffee, coir, spices, tea and rubber-growing region. The State of Kerala, with a Communist government, demanded that the foreign exchange earned by cashew and coir exports be invested for the development of the state. A similar demand was also voiced by the coalition government in Bihar where much foreign exchange has been earned through exploitation of various minerals. These demands were raised due to the formation of opposition coalition governments. Such demands have created internal stresses within the country. Now both the State Governments are backed by the New Congress Parliamentary Party dominated by Mrs Gandhi.

THE DRAINAGE

Broadly speaking, Indian rivers can be divided into two separate types, the north Indian, or Himalayan origin rivers, and the peninsular rivers. The Himalayan rivers are large, their gradient is low, and they bear a vast quantity of fine silt, some of which is spread out on the level plain. The Himalayan rivers are not dependent on monsoon rainfall alone for their water supply, but also have a source in the melting of the Himalayan snow. Their seasonal regime is more valuable as it brings a maximum of water at the height of the hot weather—February to April—when the peninsular rivers are at their lowest.[8] In contrast, the peninsular rivers depend entirely on monsoon rainfall, which is concentrated in only four to six months of the year. Streams which may be half a mile wide or more during the high-flood monsoon season shrink to a trickle only a yard or so across during hot weather.

Some of the important political implications of Indian rivers may now be suggested. For one thing, political boundaries are not drawn around drainage basins or along existing streams (Fig. 7). The political boundaries of states in India have been drawn mainly on a linguistic basis and do not coincide with the river basins. Therefore, the exclusive control of the water of any river by one state may create tension among the neighbouring shtates. Such conflicts are arising between Mysore and Maharastra over the Tungabhadra River, among Tamil Nadu, Mysore and Kerala over the Cauvery River and between Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra over the Narmada River. The absence of rivers flowing from the north to the south or vice versa, owing to the geological structure of the country, is partly responsible for the disunity of the north and south. Political differences arise when the distribution of water is uneven in a situation where availability of irrigation water is of crucial importance to the economy.

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[8] O.K.H. Spate, *India and Pakistan: A General and Regional Geography* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, Inc., 1957), p. 15.

Failure to appreciate the importance of differences of topography, the vagaries of rainfall and the seasonality of river flow was responsible for a great waste of money in abortive irrigation schemes in Madras. The political troubles over river water are mostly confined to the peninsular plateau. Unfortunately, it is often not economically feasible to construct large irrigation or hydroelectric projects in the south. This economic imbalance between regions creates tensions in national politics, and the opposition party often takes advantage of the situation in accusing the governing party of being unfair.

STRATEGIC ROLE OF THE SEAS

Since India is closed in on three sides by mountain ranges, trade routes have normally been easier by sea. The peninsular India is protected by the Indian Ocean which can be claimed as *mare nostrum*. According to Commander V.A. Kamath of Indian Navy, the truth of the saying, "he who rules on the sea will shortly rule on the land" has, as far as India is concerned, been borne out by the events of history. It is a significant fact that although large portions of north India were conquered many times by foreigners, India was never ruled by a monarch who did not have his capital in India except when it came to the naval power of the British.[9] During the Second World War a short period of Japanese supremacy in the Indian Ocean followed the capture of Singapore, and the occupation of the Andaman Islands demonstrated that the threat to that ocean from the side of Pacific can be a real one. Besides, the nations adjacent to the Indian Ocean have neither the air nor the naval forces to protect themselves against outside aggression separately or collectively. No single nation can afford to build up the naval strength to protect the entire area including India.

During the British colonial period, India followed a territorial water limit of three miles, along with Britain and most of her colonies. A proclamation was issued by the President of India on March 22, 1956, however, to extend the territorial waters out to six nautical miles. A subsequent proclamation issued on September 30, 1967, extended the territorial waters to 12 nautical miles. This proclamation superseded all previous ones. The Republic of India has the obligation to ensure its effective control over as wide an area of the sea adjacent to its coast as is compatible with international law. The nation has chosen a 12-mile zone in order to safeguard its territorial integrity as a developing country to facilitate exploiting and utilizing the natural resources of the sea in the most effective manner. Besides, strategic and economic necessities, the overseas Indian settlements along the entire arch from the Cape of Good Hope to Malaya, in Kenya, Tanzania, the Republic of South Africa, Mauritius, Ceylon and Burma are of great concern to the Indian state.

The Indian government was disturbed when the United Kingdom and the United States of America jointly announced a plan to use the Indian Ocean islands of Aldabra and Diego Garcia for strategic bases and missile-tracking stations. It was afraid of creating tension in the area, knowing that China would be quite unhappy with such a move. During the recent visit of Spiro T. Agnew, the Vice-President of the United States, to eleven Asian and Pacific nations, he proposed to the Prime Minister of Singapore that the United States is willing to fill in the vacuum created by the withdrawal of the British naval forces. But he emphasized that the United States is willing to help through supplying armaments and technical aid only rather than sending armed men. This statement is detrimental to the freedom of the southeast Asian nations because it will create more tension between the Soviet-Chinese communist and the western free world blocs. Mr Agnew also told the leaders of all nations that the "United States will keep its treaty commitments. Our policy is neither one of gradual withdrawal from Asia nor of unwarranted intervention in Asian affair. As a Pacific power we will remain in the Pacific."[10] Contrary to such suggestions, India wanted the Indian Ocean to remain a zone of peace, free from intrusions of foreign navies, or introduction of nuclear weapons. This concern of India is justifiable to maintain peace in the Indian Ocean area. Strategically, seas adjacent to India are as important to India as the northern boundary, and it is felt that they should be effectively protected·

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[9] K.M. Panikkar, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

THE CLIMATIC CONDITIONS

Several political problems have arisen over regional shortage of food, over floods and droughts, conflicts concerning the distribution of waters, dam sites, and the preservation of forests, all directly related to the climatic conditions of India. Nowhere else are so many people so intimately dependent upon rainfall rhythms; the whole prosperity of India is tied up with the eccentricities of its seasonal winds.[11] India's climate is characterized as monsoonal. The country receives nearly 90 per cent of its rain during the southwest monsoon season which is concentrated

[10] "What Agnew Found in Asia-Support for U.S. Role There," *U.S. News and World Report*, LXVII, No. 4 (January 26, 1970), 13.

[11] George B. Cressey, *Asia's Land and Peoples: A Geography of One-Third of the Earth and Two-Thirds of its Peoples*, 3rd ed., (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1963), p. 396.

in a period of only four to six months. The winter monsoon creates a water shortage during the rest of the year. Moreover, Indian rainfall is frequently torrential in character. The rain falls too quickly to be absorbed by the soil, and consequently there is excessive runoff.

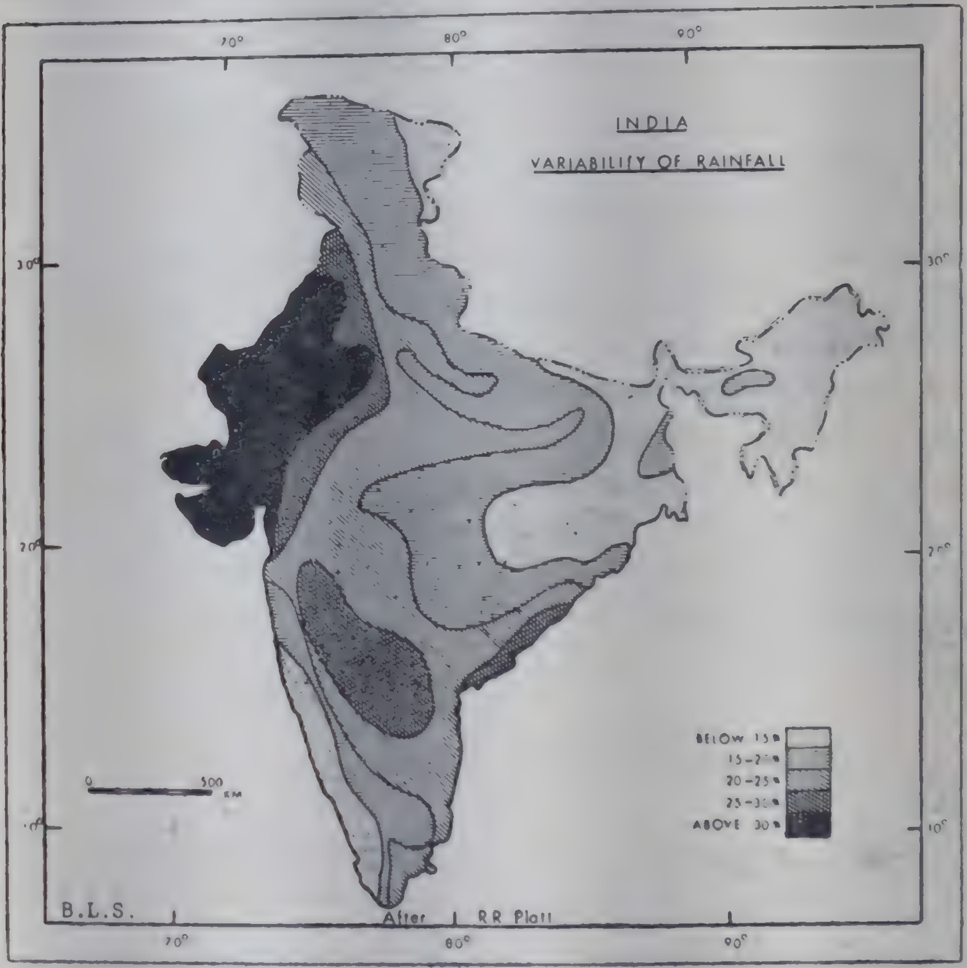


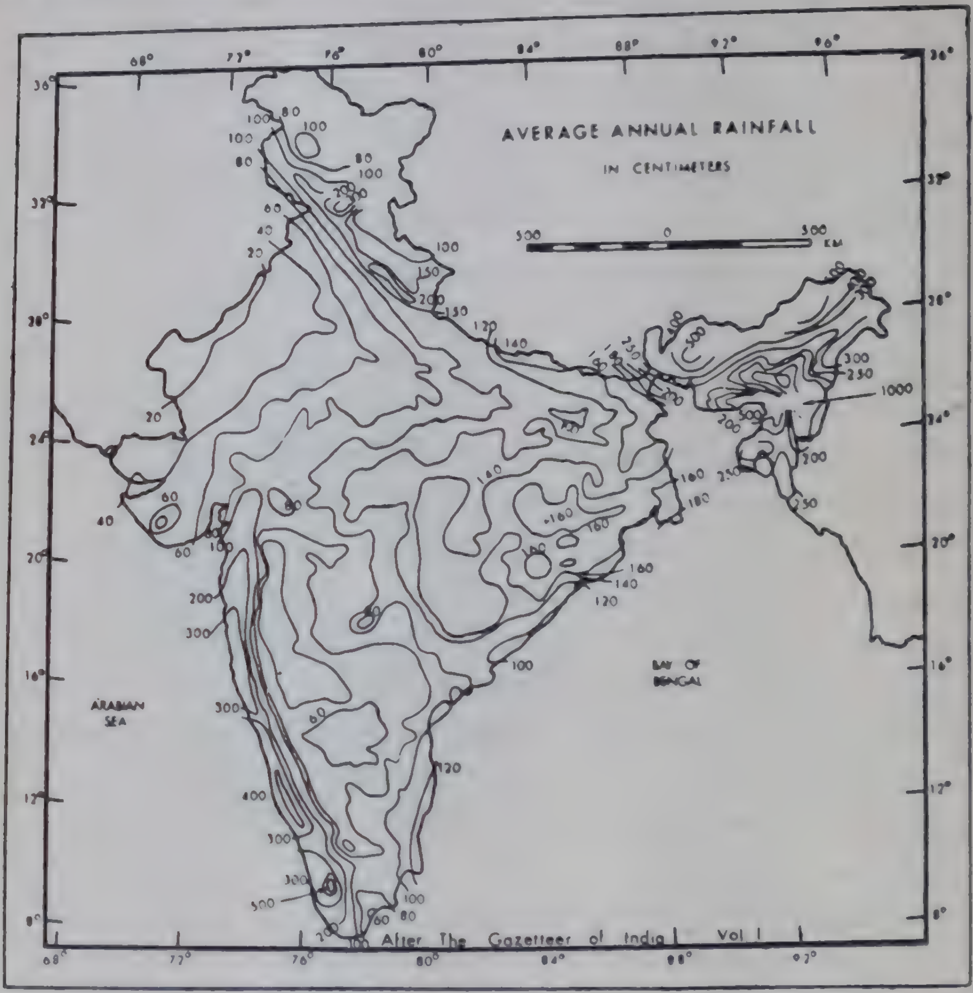
FIG. 8

The amount of rainfall strongly influences the cropping pattern and, hence, the economic viability of a state. In India there is, for instance, the West Bengal rice and jute economy, the middle Ganges rice and sugar-cane economy, the western Uttar Pradesh and Punjab wheat economy, and in Rajasthan an economy based on millet, acacia trees, and scrub. Kerala, Bihar and West Bengal are food deficit states due to climatic uncertainties. The political instability of some of these areas, especially Kerala and West Bengal, is partly caused by food deficits. In Madras, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (referred to as DMK) Government won a majority in the 1967 elections due to a regional rice failure combined with language propaganda. The reality of a food shortage quickly reaches the illiterate masses, and the opposition parties can exploit this situation to achieve their goals.

It is the unreliable rainfall, then, rather than temperature fluctuations which determines the outcome of India's harvest. Too much rain means floods and destruction; too little, famine and death. The wide variations in rainfall seriously affect the life of the people. Similarly, the temporal variation in the arrival of rains is of major importance. The monsoon rains may be considerably delayed or appreciably early over the entire country or over certain parts of it. The normal onset of the monsoon is in late May on the southern tip of the Indian peninsula, it reaches Bombay by June 10, and by July 1 the monsoon has reached almost all over India. Rains persist until about September 1, when the southwest winds cease to blow and the dry season begins. In the years when the summer monsoon starts late, it frequently retreats early, thus deleteriously affecting both summer and winter crops, since winter crops rely largely upon the moisture left in the soil by the summer rains. The frequent droughts cause food shortages, for which blame is placed on the government machinery.

There can be one or more breaks or interruptions in the rains during July and August. A long break in the monsoon rains or a sudden early cessation of the rains can be very harmful to crops and may lead to famine conditions. The breaks in the rains are longer and more numerous with increasing distance from the coast. The areas on the flanks of the main zone of monsoon rains are particularly liable to such risks (Fig. 8). Gujarat, the southern margins of the Upper Gangetic Valley, and the interior districts in northwest India tend to be especially hard hit. Here the government has paid special attention to the development of irrigation. As a result, the area is usually politically stable. Altercations do arise, however, over the local distribution of water.

Rainfall periodicity and unequal distribution of rainfall are very important factors in the assessment of the political problems of India, since they affect the natural vegetation, agriculture, irrigation, and settlement patterns. Areas with 80 inches or more of rainfall produce food crops like rice and commercial crops such as tea, jute, coffee, rubber and spices (Fig. 9). These rainy areas, however, are always in danger of floods. The heavy rainfall encourages commercial crop cultivation, and hence these are areas of a chronic deficit. West Bengal and Kerala, famous for their political instabilty, are good examples.


AVERAGE ANNUAL RAINFALL
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200
250
300
400
500
1000

After The Gazetteer of India Vol I

FIG. 9

India's principal famine zones, however, lie in regions with less than 40 inches of annual rainfall (Fig. 9). As Stamp has pointed out, the famine areas are not the driest parts of the country but those having an intermediate rainfall.[12] The most

[12] L. Dudley Stamp, *Asia : A Regional and Economic Geography*, 11th edition, London: Methuen and Company Ltd., 1962), p. 198.

frequent drought-stricken areas suffer markedly during drier than normal years. Famines create political unrest and place a great strain on the relief capabilities of the state. *The Times of India*, on October 6, 1968, depicted this disparity of rainfall. On the same day as the Kosi River floods submerged 300 villages in Bihar and northern West Bengal, severe drought conditions prevailed in Rajasthan. A drought and a flood condition in the same state may follow in quick succession. A flood hit Rajasthan in the early monsoon period of 1968 and a drought later in the same season. Such conditions put pressure on the government, and extra spending for relief becomes a necessity. Strong opposition recently appeared in the Rajasthan State Assembly to the Congress Government which for a time could not form its government due to the lack of majority, and presidential rule had to be imposed.

SOILS

Soils only affect the political situation in reference to the productivity of crops and the suitability of different crops. The most important and productive soil of India is the alluvial soil of the Sutlej-Ganges plain and the delta regions of the southern rivers. These fertile soils yield high crop production and relative prosperity to the areas concerned, thus helping to create political stability. The Vidharbha area of rich *regur* (a rich black loam) soil opposed union which Maharashtra is an area of poverty in part generated by less than fertile agricultural soil. The fertility of the soil of India in general has been depleted due to continuous use and failure to fertilize. Even establishing a fertilizer plant in a certain section of the country brings conflict and political problems, since every state wants to establish a fertilizer plant within its own state boundaries, a situation which is simply not economically feasible. Such plants can only be established where raw materials are easily available.

VEGETATION

The vegetation pattern also directly affects the political stability of the subcontinent. Dense jungles give shelter to guerrillas, to forces of disunity and to government opposition. While acting as barriers to movement, they are at the same time sources of rich timber and various other useful forest products. Hence, depending on which area one refers to, the natural vegetation can be either salutary or deleterious to the effective functioning of government.

The important timber-producing trees in the deciduous forests of India are sal (*Shorea robusta*) teak (*Tectona grandis*), sandalwood (*Santalum album*), shisham (*Dalbergia sirosoo*), and mahua (*Bassia latifolia*). These are also called monsoon forests. In Orissa and eastern Madhya Pradesh these forests shelter tribal people who support the opposition party. The resultant coalition government, especially in Madhya Pradesh, is unstable. At the time of writing, however, the coalition government of Orissa is working satisfactorily, since the coalition includes both of the rightist parties. Now this coalition is ousted by a united front government supported by the New Congress.

Jhuming (shifting cultivation) is practised in hilly areas of Assam, in Chota Nagpur, and among the *Bhils* (scheduled caste) and in Deccan. The government is facing opposition for imposing legislation to stop the *jhuming* practices. The importance of forests for grazing, fuel, and manure cannot be overemphasized. Any move to change these practices will be strongly criticized. The forests are politically very important.

In the hilly forested areas of Assam some tribes find shelter in the forest and undertake sabotage activities. The tribal people of Bihar are also demanding a separate tribal state (Jhar Khand). The Garo, Khasi and Jaintia Hill people have recently been granted a separate autonomous state (Meghalaya). The dense forests and deep ravines give shelter to the dacoits and robbers in the Chambal Valley area of Madhya Pradesh, in Uttar Pradesh and in Rajasthan, and these state governments have to spend a large amount of money to maintain law and order. Moreover, the historical separation of the people of the northern plain from those of the southern peninsula was due in part to the dense forest conditions; the people in the south differ markedly from those in the north in terms of race, language, customs, living habits and sense of nationality.

Physiography, topography, climate, vegetation, soil and other biotic factors play, directly or indirectly, an important part in creating the political geography of India. These elements influence the strategic situation, the internal unity or disunity, relations with other neighbours, economic viability and the regional diversity of the country.

CHAPTER III

Economic Resources

The economic picture of India at the time of independence was grim. Barely five per cent of the population earned more than enough for a subsistence living, and millions were unemployed. Problems such as rehabilitating displaced persons from East and West Pakistan; increasing the production of raw jute, cotton, and food grains to make up for the loss of territory to Pakistan; establishing communal harmony, and increasing even slightly the economic level of the people loomed as formidable.

Since 1947, however, some progress has been made. Real national income has increased by 70 per cent, industrial output has increased from a base of 100 in 1956 to 199.3 in 1967, and agricultural production has risen from a base of 100 in 1950 to 132.4 in 1966-67. In 1966-67, following a severe drought, national income increased only by 1.1 per cent. The record harvest of 1967-68, however, marked a significant increase in agricultural output, and was instrumental in raising national income by 8.9 per cent. The national income rose by 3 per cent during 1968-69. In 1980-81, the adjusted projection of national income as shown in the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1969-74) will be Rs. 3,422,000,000,000. A total outlay of Rs. 243,980,000,000,000 is envisaged for the Fourth Plan. Such statistical gains are partially offset by the rise in the wholesale price for all commodities from an index level of 100 in 1952-53 to 204.5 in 1968. The increase in prices has been attributed, at least in part, to the cost of the wars with Communist China in 1962 and with Pakistan in 1965. The defence budget rose from Rs. 2,800,000,000 ($ 1.00=Rs. 7.50) in 1961 to nearly Rs. 10,000,000,000 in 1967. Moreover, in 1966 and 1967 the nation was stricken by its worst famine since 1943. Surprisingly, millions of people probably had their first really nutritious meal during the famine, since many low caste Hindus who had normally lived under the spectre of starvation benefited from governmental food distribution programmes undertaken during the emergency. Some 250,000,000 of India's population today, however, are either undernourished or malnourished or both.[1]

AGRICULTURAL RESOURCES

India, although an agricultural country with 70 per cent of its population dependent on farming and 82 per cent of its people living in rural villages, is still short of food grains. This shortage is due to several agricultural problems, all of which have become matters of international concern in the last few years. The immediate concern is the acute shortage of food caused by two years of disastrous crop weather and the continuing rapid increase in population. The amount of food grains available per capita in 1966 was 14.2 ounces per day as compared to 16.8 ounces in 1965. The drought brought a decline in India's national income, recession to its industry, violence to its streets and famine to its countryside. In addition to the vagaries of the monsoon and much inherently poor land, there are several human factors responsible for creating the Indian food shortages. Among them are backward farming techniques, shortages of fertilizer, the lack of irrigation facilities, limited and high cost rural credit, and an unsatisfactory land-tenure system.

Poor methods of cultivation bring perhaps the lowest production per hectare in the world. The production is fourth of Spain's and Italy's, a third of Japan's and half of China's and America's. For example, India's average yield of rice is 1.1 tons per hectare in contrast to 4 tons per hectare in Japan. The Indian farmer is, nevertheless, reported to be highly responsive to improved practices introduced by agricultural education, and not the timeless conservative he was long thought to be.[2] Some individual farmers with small plots and the close co-operation of the government are making progress. More and more mechanical devices are being used on farms. Tractors and pumps are becoming the favourite rural status symbols rather than money spent for social and religious functions, ornaments, or simply more land. Thousands of farmers are adopting new farming practices, such as using high yielding varieties of seeds, chemical fertilizers, pesticides, or improved irrigation techniques. Some optimists believe that these new practices may increase the food production to four or five times the current level. Mechanization, in any case, will have the effect of replacing a large number of manual labourers by machines. Hence, the incentive to raise a large family in order to have an adequate labour supply will weaken, and this in turn, will help overall population control.

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[1] C. B. Mamoria, *Agricultural Problems of India*, 5th ed., (Allahabad: Kitab Mahal Private Ltd., 1966), p. 130.

[2] Suman Dubey, "Agriculture : Twenty Years of Vacillation," *Weekend Review*, I, No. 36 (August 12, 1967), 11.

The production and distribution of crops has a direct impact upon the internal and external politics of India. The total production in 1967-68 was 95,600,000 tons, the highest India has ever produced in her entire history. The previous record crop was in 1964-65, when the country harvested 89,000,000 tons. All states produced well in 1967-68 except Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, which, unfortunately, are the principal rice-growing states and which are usually surplus food producers.[3] The production of agricultural commodities in Punjab, Gujarat, Tamil Nadu, Mysore and Himachal Pradesh was above average, whereas in Kerala, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh and Assam it was below average (Table 1). During the agricultural season 1968-69 the total production of food grains was about 94,000,000 tons, some 1,600,000 tons less than the previous year on account of a fall in the production of coarse food grains. The production of wheat and rice, at 18,650,000 and 39,760,000 tons, however, was the highest on record in 1968-69. According to the latest estimates by the Food and Agricultural Ministry, the farm output during 1969-70 is estimated as surpassing 100,000,000 tons. The production figure reached more than 105,000,000 tons in 1971 crop season.

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[3] Dilip Mukerjee, "The Unquient City: India, A Special Report," *The Times* (London), Friday, January 26, 1969, p. XV.

India has about 20 per cent of its cultivated land under cash crops, and the government has no intention of reducing the area so planted.[4] The land classified as cultivable waste is largely submarginal and would not repay the cost involved in bringing it into use. Besides, there are no important reserves of cultivable land awaiting development. The only way to increase production significantly, then, is to increase yields. Prices received for food grains are comparatively lower than those received for so-called cash crops. Therefore, acreages sown to cash crops have grown at a rate more than twice that of those sown to food grains. Indian agricultural policy calls for concentrating on the production of high quality cotton, jute and sugarcane at home. This concentration on cash crops has diminished the production of cereals and thereby made the food famine more acute. Kerala, West Bengal and Assam particularly concentrate on cash crops and, therefore, these are notable food deficit states. The present resources and future development possibilities of the various regions are greatly different (Table 2). Development obviously needs to be planned according to the available and potential resources of the region concerned.

The chronic food shortages in India have several political implications. In the first place, the need to expand scarce foreign exchange for importing food grains places a severe strain on the balance of payments and hence on the overall economy. During 1967 the total quantity of food grains imported into India amounted to 8,670,000 tons (valued at approximately Rs. 5,321,700,000), as against 10,360,000 tons in 1966 and 7,460,000 tons in 1965.[5] The United States alone supplied 4,435,100 tons of wheat in 1967. The importation of American wheat has been an important factor in relieving acute consumer distress in some years, but over a period of years these imports are likely to have a depressing effect on incentives for domestic wheat production. Who knows how long the United States can or will supply food grains to India? The Soviet Union and China in some recent years have also entered the world food grain market as deficit countries. Partly because of India's strategic position in world affairs, both the United States and the Soviet Union have been willing to export food grains to India. However, India has consistently refused to align itself with either of the power blocs in the cold war.

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[4] Derek Davies, "India: Politics," *1968 Yearbook of the Far Eastern Economic Review* (Hong Kong: Far Eastern Economic Review Ltd., 1968), p. 187.

[5] *Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation, Annual Report*, 1967-68 (New Delhi: Department of Food, Government of India, 1968), p. 11.

TABLE 1

INDIA : STATEWISE GROWTH RATES (COMPOUND) OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, AREA AND PRODUCTIVITY, 1951-1952 TO 1964-1965

	Production	*Area*	*Productivity*
		Percentage	
Above Average			
Punjab	4.56	1.90	2.61
Gujarat	4.55	0.45	4.09
Tamil Nadu	4.17	1.10	3.04
Mysore	3.54	0.81	2.71
Himachal Pradesh	3.39	0.71	2.67
Fair			
Bihar	2.97	0.71	2.25
Maharashtra	2.93	0.44	2.45
Rajasthan	2.74	2.85	0.11
Andhra Pradesh	2.71	0·26	2.45
Madhya Pradesh	2.49	1.28	1.21
Orissa	2.48	0.81	1.66
Low			
Kerala	2.27	1.30	0.96
West Bengal	1.94	0.59	1.34
Uttar Pradesh	1.66	0.72	0.94
Assam	1.17	1.25	0.08
Total	3.01	1.21	1.77

SOURCE : *Accelerating India's Food Grain Production 1967-68 to 1970-71.* Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Economic Research Service, Foreign Agriculture Economic Report No. 40, March, 1968, p. 25.

TABLE 2

PRESENT REGIONAL PRODUCTION AND FUTURE POTENTIALITIES OF LAND RESOURCES IN INDIA

Region (State)	*Potentialities for Future Development*	*Actual Production Specialities*
Northeastern		
(Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Nagaland, and NEFA)	Horticulture development, self-sufficiency in food, tea, forest resources.	Jute and tea.
Eastern		
(West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa)	Forest, resources, commercial crops, jute, sugarcane, tea. Market-gardening,* dairies.*	Jute and tea. Sugarcane,* rice.*
Southern		
(Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Mysore, Kerala, Goa, Pondicherry Mahe, Yanaon, Andaman, and Nicobar Islands, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands)	Northern part of the region for livestock farming and irrigation culture, rubber, coconut, cashewnuts, tobacco, spices. Rice,* cotton,* millet.*	Diversified commercial crops, coffee, tea, tobacco, coconut, cashewnuts, spices, peanuts, rubber, sericulture, marine-fisheries. Tapioca,* millet,* rice.*
Central		
(U. P. and Madhya Pradesh)	Intensive cultivation, forest-resources, rice, wheat, sugar-cane, cotton, reclamation of land for future food production, pulses, maize mustard and rape seeds. Peanuts,* tobacco,* bajra.*	Intensive agriculture, sugar-cane, rice, wheat, oil-seeds, pulses. Cotton,* millet,* maize.*
Western		
(Maharashtra, Gujarat, Diu, Daman, Dadra and Nagar Haveli)	Cotton, peanuts, sugarcane, pulses. Millet.*	Extensive cotton-growing area, livestock, peanuts. Millet,* sugar-cane.*

* Indicates minor importance.

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Region (State)	*Potentialities for Future Development*	*Actual Production Specialities*
Northwestern		
(Punjab, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Delhi, Jammu and Kashmir, and Chandigarh)	The most promising agricultural zone in the Rajasthan Canal area, reclamation through forests, and irrigation, scientific farming, animal breeding, pasture, wheat, pulses, millet. Sugar-cane,* horticulture.*	Highly irrigated agricultural, wheat, cotton, fodder crops, highly developed livestock area. Millet,* oil seeds,* sugar-cane,* horticulture in hilly areas*.

*Indicates minor importance.

In the second place, the lack of national food policy has resulted in regional disparities in distribution. In 1966, for example, the regional disparities in food supply increased; while people in Bihar were starving, officials in Tamil Nadu went ahead with a programme to cut the price of rice. In 1964 and 1966, public agitation, rioting and looting of grain stores broke out in many parts of the country. Predictably, the food shortage was attributed to hoarding by landlords and grain dealers and even to hoarding by the government and its Congress Party supporters.[6] In 1967, at the time of the general elections, the voters rejected almost all the ministers in charge of economic portfolios, including the Central Food Minister, Mr Subramaniam. Efforts on the part of central government authorities to move food from surplus to deficit areas were resisted by states with surpluses. The reluctance of the surplus states to share their bounty and the unwillingness of deficit state governments to take the responsibility for feeding their people only showed the weakness of the elected ministers and the all-too-frequent lust for power rather than service. An attempt to nationalize the wholesale trade in food grains was frustrated largely because the speculators themselves exerted considerable political power.[7]

[6] *The Economic Weekly* (July, 1964), 1187.

[7] Gunnar Myrdal, *Asian Drama: An Inquiry Into the Poverty of Nations*, Vol. 1 (New Work: Twentieth Century Fund, Inc., 1968), p. 283.

At the new Chief Ministers Conference, held in April, 1967, the ministers voted to retain the single state food zones which already existed. Although the new chief ministers were representing not only the Congress Party but opposition parties as well, they could not evolve any uniform procurement and distribution policy for food grains. The chief ministers were not ready to follow a policy of monopoly trade and compulsory procurement of food grains by the government at New Delhi, since such a policy might create bitterness among the producers and eventually arouse opposition to the chief ministers. Significantly, no chief minister in any state assumed the agricultural portfolio in his own state government.

A major factor limiting crop production over most of the Indian Union is water supply. The seasonal climatic regime with its summer monsoon rains and winter drought means that crop growing is very largely confined to the wet season. Two crops per year can be raised in most areas of the country if water can be made available during the dry season. Thus, irrigation is clearly of the utmost importance.

The total water potential of India through its mean annual river flow is estimated at 1,675,000,000,000 cubic meters.[8] In 1967 it was estimated that only 33 per cent of the potential resources were being utilized. Since independence in 1947, 500 new irrigation and power development facilities have been built, but 21 years after independence only 36,855,000 hectares out of 157,950,000 cultivated hectares were being irrigated. The number of energized pumpsets has increased substantially from 18,709 before commencement of the First Five-Year Plan (1951) to 1,068,670 by the end of 1968-69. During the Fourth Five-Year Plan (1969-74), 1,242,000 additional pumpsets will be energized with an outlay of Rs. 4,680,000,000 making likely an additional 3,500,000 tons of food grains. Increased soil fertility, improved seed and implements, and better breeds of livestock and poultry cannot bring about much change in agricultural productivity unless there is a concomitant supply of water. Irrigation could create the potential for double or triple cropping in many new areas.

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[8] Government of India, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, *Yearbook, India* 1967 (New Delhi: Government of India, Publication Division, 1967), p. 250.

The creation and extension of irrigation schemes have many political implications. New areas developed for irrigation are frequently faced with the political problems of water distribution, and serious conflicts often arise between farmers and between different villages. Land titles are frequently questioned by neighbours. Land prices have greatly increased. Politicians contest elections on local water distribution, irrigation and land-tenure issues which appeal to the local voters. The Ganganagar District of Rajasthan is one of a number of sensitive areas where irrigation improvements have created local political issues.

Disagreements over the site of dams and the legality of river water use have arisen between states. Conflicts on the Narmada River between Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra, on the Cauvery River among Tamil Nadu, Mysore and Kerala, and on the Tungabhadra River between Maharashtra and Mysore are examples of such issues.

In spite of considerable remaining irrigation potential in India, the land frontier has been more or less exhausted. Unfortunately, the average productivity per hectare has gone down by 10 per cent due to such factors as reckless deforestation, poor drainage, cultivation of submarginal land, growing salinity, and the lack of artificial fertilizers[9] during the last decade. A major scheme for reclaiming ravine land in the Chambal River basin adjoining Rajasthan (2,800,000 hectares), Madhya Pradesh (2,430,000 hectares), and Uttar Pradesh (1,230,000 hectares) has recently been undertaken.[10] In addition to projects for reclaiming ravines, the government has undertaken reclamation projects. India expects to increase its total cultivated area from 157,950,000 to 182,250,000 hectares. The reclaimed ravine areas will not only increase the crop production but will increase the safety of life for the local people, since these areas tend to be dominated by dacoits who instil terror in the population. The increased safety of life will build confidence among the people in their government and thereby help to bring stability and peace to the countryside.

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[9] "Harnessing the Land Resources," *Eastern Economist*, XLVIII, No. 17 (April 28, 1967), p. 857.

[10] *Study of Survey and Reclamation of Ravines in India* (New Delhi: Planning Commission, Committee on Natural Resources, Government of India, 1965), p. 43.

The limited extent to which the available cultivated land in India can be expanded magnifies the basic organizational problems of land ownership and land-tenure. A great deal of land reform has been undertaken by the central government. A major achievement of independence was the abolition of all intermediary tenures, that is, tenures held by societies or individuals (such as Zamindari, Mahalwari, Ryotwari, Jagirdaris and Inam) who in turn rented the land to landless labourers. By this reform 20,000,000 peasants were brought into direct contact with the state and became owners of their holdings. A land ceiling of 12 unirrigated hectares (in most of the states) has also been enforced to equalize land distribution. It would be no exaggeration to say that never before in the history of land-tenure reform has so much legislative action, with such wide social and economic ramifications, been undertaken as in India since independence.[11] Acharya Vinoba Bhave, an elderly leader of Gandhian times and persuasion, has launched a nationwide movement for the donation of tracts of land and the gift of entire villages by large land owners for distribution among landless labourers. By these peaceful and democratic methods, the entire agrarian society has been transformed to ensure greater freedom and security to the tiller of the soil. A useful concomitant has been the removing of functionless intermediaries between the state and the cultivators.

The Government of India has adopted a new programme for encouraging co-operative farming, but the Indian peasants, with their profound traditional love of their own little plot of land, are not actively participating in this programme. To oppose the co-operative farming scheme the new Swatantra Party was formed, and it is currently the largest opposition party in the parliament.

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[11] "Who Benefits from Zonal Control," *Swarajya*, XII, No. 22 (November 25, 1967), p.3 and 10.

This Party lost its strength after the mid-term parliamentary elections, 1971. A drastic change in the land-tenure system in northern West Bengal, imposed by the coalition ministry of that state, has brought on a number of riots. The difficulty of controlling the riots created friction among the coalition members. Finally, the coalition ministry was dissolved and presidential rule was imposed, although in the mid-term elections of February, 1969, the communist-dominated 12-party coalition was formed. The coalition ministries in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, where the Congress ministries were overthrown, were formed on the basis of land-tenure and land-reform issues. A recent step has been the enactment of a land-reform bill by the new coalition ministry (Communist Party of India, Muslim League and Congress Party) in Kerala. This bill will distribute the land taken from the landlords to landless labourers.

MINERAL RESOURCES

Mineral resources are almost equally important with land resources for the development of a country and the stability of its political situation. India is well endowed with several important minerals. Although she is not as fortunate as her neighbour. China, she is nevertheless better placed than Pakistan. India has vast reserves of high grade iron ore, manganese, mica, thorium, titanium and bauxite, along with ample quantities of dolomite, magnesite and coking coal to support both ferrous and non-ferrous metal industries. It is equally rich in other minerals including those needed for cement, ceramics and refractory industries.

Before independence, India was not an important mineral-producing country, but the great industrialization programme of recent years has greatly increased production. Minerals vary in importance from region to region over the country. While the Chota Nagpur plateau, Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal states are very important, Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh are relatively unimportant in mineral production (Fig. 10).

India possesses nearly one-fourth of the total world reserves of iron ore. The estimated reserves of iron-ore in the country exceed 20,000,000,000 tons; this is about 22 per cent of the world's reserves.[12] This ore is mostly high grade. Many internal and international political problems can be related directly to the iron ore. First, almost all proven and probable reserves are located in the Bihar-Orissa sector, Madhya Pradesh and Mysore states (Fig. 10). This concentration creates a great problem as to where to locate iron and steel industries. Economically, it is not feasible to transport ore to other regions, although all the states desire industry and, of course, consume steel. Some of the

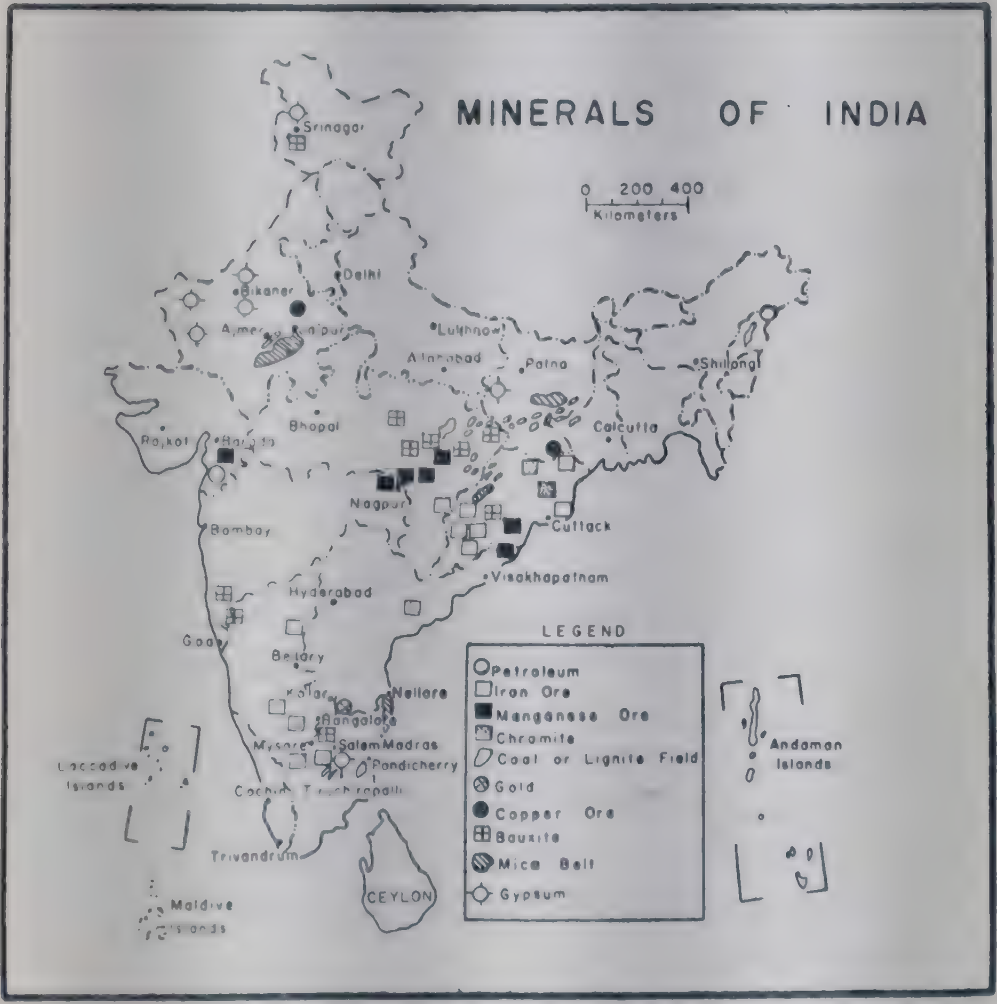
MINERALS OF INDIA
0 200 400
Kilometers
Srinagar
Delhi
Bikaner
Ajmer
Jaipur
Lucknow
Allahabad
Patna
Shillong
Calcutta
Bhopal
Rajkot
Baroda
Nagpur
Bombay
Cuttack
Visakhapatnam
Hyderabad
Goa
Bellary
Kolar
Nellore
Bangalore
Salem
Madras
Mysore
Pondicherry
Cochin
Tiruchirapalli
Trivandrum
Laccadive Islands
Maldive Islands
CEYLON
Andaman Islands
LEGEND
Petroleum
Iron Ore
Manganese Ore
Chromite
Coal or Lignite Field
Gold
Copper Ore
Bauxite
Mica Belt
Gypsum

FIG. 10

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[12] V.S. Gananathan, *Economic Geography of India* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, India, 1967), p. 13.

mines cross the political boundaries of states, and legal rights to them are sometimes challenged by interested parties. For example, the dispute over the Purnia District between West Bengal and Bihar before the state reorganization was an important case.

Second, India has to face competition in international trade as an ore exporter. The principal importers of Indian ore are Japan and some countries in eastern Europe. The main competitors in the Japanese markets are Australia, Malaysia and certain countries of South Africa, especially the Republic of South Africa. In the eastern European markets, India's main competitors are the West African countries. To compete successfully with these countries, India must export ore at a cheaper price or lower costs by integrating the various processes involved in production, processing and marketing.

Besides iron ore, manganese is another important mineral resource for India's development. India is the third largest producer of manganese in the world, with estimated reserves of high grade ore of about 20,000,000 to 25,000,000,000 tons and of low grade ore of about 50,000,000 to 60,000,000 tons. The manganese mines are concentrated in the Chota Nagpur plateau and Madhya Pradesh. In the international field the Soviet Union supplies manganese $2.00 to $3.00 cheaper per ton, which makes that country a serious competitor for export markets in Japan. Other importing countries are the United States, Great Britain and West Germany.

Mica is another very important mineral product from the point of view of foreign exchange. India is the world's largest producer and exporter of mica. It produces nearly three-fourths of the world's supply and through foreign sales earns Rs. 150,000,000 in foreign exchange. The United States alone imports 40 per cent of India's mica. Three important producing states are Bihar, Rajasthan and Andhra Pradesh.

India is only a minor producer of gold, accounting for only one per cent of the world's production. Even so, this gold has considerable political significance. The production is confined to the Kolar gold mines of Mysore. India's gold prices have been well above world prices. The rising price level of commodities and the low official interest rate encourage the personal hoarding of gold, not only for traditional ornaments or jewellery but also as an excellent hedge against inflation. Attempts by Indian government officials to reduce the drain on foreign exchange by placing tighter controls on gold smuggling and by encouraging the people to invest their hoarded gold in the industrial establishments have been largely unsuccessful for political reasons. Most of the hoarded gold is controlled by rich industrialists or business communities who influence the legislatures. Attempts to devalue the currency or increase the $35.00 per ounce price of gold have created strong opposition. Other mineral resources have had political impact on India since they are partially responsible for unequal distribution of heavy industries, industrial labour problems and the development of cordial relations with foreign countries.

Several consequences of the unequal distribution of minerals are significant in Indian politics. First, approximately 63 per cent of the mineral production is concentrated in the three states of Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal (Table 3). This concentration of minerals was responsible for the early establishment of iron and steel industries here. Other states then opposed creating more industrial establishments in this region. Officials of Andhra Pradesh, Assam and Madras (the name of the state now changed to Tamil Nadu), for instance, have agitated for more manufacturing establishments in their respective states. On the national level, opposition party members always accuse the ruling party of neglecting certain regions in the planning of industrial development.

Second, mine union members are always agitating for better housing, higher pay, more medical facilities and a higher share of profits. The decisions about these matters are made by the central government with the help of state planning departments. Agitation has been particularly strong in West Bengal, Orissa and, to a lesser extent, in Bihar. These areas have large industrial establishments, and the labour is largely concentrated here.

Third, India has had to develop good relations with other mineral rich countries like the United States, the Soviet Union,

TABLE 3

PRESENT REGIONAL PRODUCTION AND FUTURE POTENTIALITIES OF MINERAL RESOURCES IN INDIA

Region (State)	*Potentialities for Future Development*	*Actual Production Specialities*
Northeastern		
(Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Nagaland, and NEFA) 1.2%**	Natural gas and petroleum. Coal*	Oil and sillimanite graphite. Coal*
Eastern		
(West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa) 63%	Coal, iron, manganese, mica, bauxite, chromite. Limestone*	Coal, iron, mica manganese. Bauxite*
Southern		
(Andhra, Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Mysore, Kerala, Goa, Pondicherry, Mahe, Yanaon, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands) 12%	Lignite, gold ilmenite, thorium. Iron ore,* mica,* limestone* manganese* and copper*.	Lignite, gold. Coal,* iron*
Central		
(U.P. and Madhya Pradesh) 11%	Mining, manganese, bauxite, limestone diamond. Coal* and iron*	Manganese, Bauxite. Coal * iron,* limestone*
Western		
(Maharashtra, Gujarat, Diu, Daman, Dadra and Nagar Haveli) 7%	Petroleum, bauxite. Manganese*	Petroleum,* Manganese*
Northwestern		
(Punjab, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir, and Chandigarh) 4%	Uranium, rocksalt, zinc, gypsum, mica. Lignite*	Uranium, thorium, gypsum. Lignite,* mica*

*Indicates minor importance.

**Percentages are calculated from the actual production figures.

West Germany and Great Britain to supplement her deficiencies and to export iron, manganese, mica and ilmenite. Walking this neutralist tight rope requires a most astute political balancing act.

The little west coast territory of Goa, which for centuries was under Portuguese political control, presents an interesting political problem in relation to its mineral resources. With the conquest of Goa on December 18, 1961, the Indian Union acquired a large reserve of iron and manganese ores. Goa in 1967 earned Rs. 103,000,000 from exports of minerals to West Germany, Italy and Japan. Because of this mineral trade, the economy of Goa is comparatively better than that of its neighbour Maharashtra. An election in Goa resulted in the decision to remain as a Union Territory instead of merging with Maharashtra. Goa would be an economic loser by joining Maharashtra.

POWER RESOURCES

India is fairly rich in coal and water power resources but deficient in petroleum and natural gas. The uneven distribution of coal has major political implications. For example, the coal deficiency is acute in the heavily populated areas of southern India. Coal transportation from the north is difficult and costly. Also, the lack of coal in Maharashtra and Gujarat is a serious hindrance to industrial expansion in those states, which are pressing hard for equal consideration in locating new industrial establishments.

Most of the hydropower resources of the nation are situated in the Ganges and Brahmaputra basins. A majority of the best potential sites are far away from load centres and hence are economically unfeasible to develop. The cost of water power development, including the essential transmission lines, is so high that the need for power in most parts of the country must be met by thermal generators. In the near future, however, coal is expected to become the preponderant source of commercial energy in India.

Mines crossing the political boundaries of the states create tension between adjoining states. For example, when the States Reorganization Commission decided to transfer 1,250 square kilometers of the Purnia Subdivision of Bihar to West Bengal, the Bihar government protested against the transfer. Apparently, the central government chose to support Bihar in the dispute on the grounds that the coal reserves and water works belonging to the Tata Iron and Steel Factory in Jamshedpur should not, for reasons of political-economic convenience, extend beyond the state boundaries (Table 6).

Currently, there is the good possibility of an export market for Indian coal. Japan, Australia, Pakistan, Ceylon and other countries of southern Asia are deficient in coal resources and depend upon imports. India's chief rival for these markets is currently the Republic of South Africa, but China is a possible future competitor. Conservationists feel that India should retain its high grade coal instead of aspiring to export it. At present, they admit, India has sufficient coal resources for her home demand, but, they argue, there is an imperative need for conserving them, since reserves of coking quality and other high grade coal are limited. If India should increase its per capita consumption of energy by 2000 A.D. to, say, three tons of coal (Europe consumes 2.72 tons per capita at present) its known resources would be exhausted in less than 15 years.[13]

Petroleum resources are very limited in India. They are largely confined to the Assam belt, along the west side of the Naga and Manipur Hills, to the Surma Valley on both sides of the India-Pakistan border, and to Gujarat coastal tracts. These areas together produce 95 per cent of India's oil production, since petroleum is available in supplies insufficient to India's needs, oil imports will continue to impose a burden on the nation's balance of payments. Imports of crude and refined products during 1966 amounted to 9,600,000 tons. The Energy Survey Committee Report estimated imports of 17,000,000 tons of crude by 1970-71, 30,000,000 tons by 1975-76, and perhaps 50,000,000 tons by

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[13] H.N. Setha, "Indian Nuclear Energy Programme," *India and Foreign Review*, V, No. 2 (November 1, 1967), 16.

1980-81.[11]

India is striving to improve its posture *vis-a-vis* oil dependence on other states. In 1948-49 there was only one small refinery in the whole country, but currently there are eight large refineries opened with foreign assistance. These refineries are at Nunmati, Assam (Rumania), Barauni, Bihar (Soviet Union), Trombay, Maharashtra (Esso of New York and Burma Shell of London), Koyali, Gujarat (Soviet Union), Vishakhapatnam, Andhra Pradesh (Caltex), Cochin, Kerala (Phillips), Haldia, West Bengal (France and Rumania), and Madras, Tamil Nadu (National Iranian Oil Company and Amoco, a subsidiary of Pan American International Oil Company).

The regional distribution of refineries creates international political problems because India imports oil from various countries. The national interest would best be served by importing from the Middle East states, since these countries can exchange oil for India's manufactured goods. Since January, 1967, petroleum products delivered in India have greatly increased in price because of the closing of the Suez Canal. Good relations with the Middle East countries, then, can relieve the strain on foreign exchange, since in that area India can barter machinery and other finished products for oil. India's deficit in oil is matched by its week position in natural gas.

India is potentially the richest country in the world in thorium production, and she is also fairly well endowed with uranium. The nation at present has three atomic power stations. A plant at Tarapur (Maharashtra) has two reactors of 190 MW capacity each, one of which became operational on April 1, 1969. An atomic power project at Rana Pratap Sagar near Kota (Rajasthan) with two units of 200 MW capacity each and another project at Kalpakkam of 400 MW capacity in Tamil Nadu (formerly Madras) will be completed later. Canada has been of significant assistance in aiding India to develop its nuclear power facilities. All of the atomic power stations are being developed to supplement existing conventional fuel supplies.

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[11] R.P. Aiyer, 1900-1967: *The Pattern of Growth of Power in India, Monthly Commentary on Indian Economic Conditions, Annual Number, 1967* (New Delhi: Government of India, 1967), p. 109.

In international politics, India follows a policy of Panch Sheel (peaceful co-existence) and, as a result, does not produce atomic weapons, although she is probably capable of doing so. India has not signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, however, because none of the "have nations" are willing to assure her defence from a possible attack by China. The two big powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are unhappy with India's refusal to sign the treaty.

In the long run, India's shortage of power can easily be met through further development of hydroelectricity. The hydroelectric potential in the country has been estimated at 41,000,000 KW at 60 per cent load factor (equivalent to a firm annual energy potential of 216,000,000,000 KWh), contributed by 246 major schemes. At present, less than 10 per cent of the total economic water power potential is utilized. Hydro-power resources, which constitute the cheapest source of power from the point of view of capital outlay and operating costs, offer vast opportunities for future development. Potential hydroelectric resources, like all other kinds of resources, are unevenly distributed. Of a total potential of 41,000,000 KW, 25,000,000 KW are in the Ganges and Brahmaputra basins, where most of the locations being considered are far from load and consumption centres. Existing hydroelectric power facilities are centred principally in Kerala, Mysore, Madras, Orissa, Punjab, and Jammu and Kashmir. Punjab and Tamil Nadu are the leading states in installed capacity.[15] Punjab is the predominant hydroelectric power consuming state. Assam, with the highest potential, has only a slight development of its hydroelectric resources.

The establishment of power stations for rural people has direct political significance. Indian cities were partly electrified before the First Five-Year Plan, but the rural areas lacked electricity. In 1951, only 3,687 towns and villages were electrified, but the number had risen to 69,000 by December, 1969. Every village with a population of more than 5,000 today has the benefit of electricity.

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[15] V.S. Gananathan, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

This improvement makes life easier and more prosperous, and thereby helps to bring unity and stability to the nation. The rates charged for electricity for agricultural uses are much lower than those for industrial uses. Electrification has influenced rural people to remain faithful to the Congress Party. The future development of power resources and a more equal regional distribution of the electricity can help bring political unity to the country.

It is important to note that the development of power on a regional basis has been developed according to the available resources. In the Ganges-Brahmaputra basins, hydroelectric power facilities have been developed. In the Chota Nagpur Plateau the emphasis is on thermal power from coal, and in Rajasthan atomic energy has been developed. The Central Water and Power Commission is developing an all-India grid. The steps towards this goal are first a regional grid, then an interregional grid and finally a national grid. The all-India grid system will eventually aid in the national integration and unification of the country (Fig. 11). All people will get the electricity at the same rate, and the supply will be steady and efficient. A sense of unity, the government hopes, will develop among the people, and finally the unity of the nation will be achieved.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND DISTRIBUTION

British policy discouraged expansion of Indian manufacturing through general restrictive measures and a variety of specific economic and political controls.[16] Hampered by a *laissez faire* doctrine that was applied to India, the British government did almost nothing to facilitate industrial growth. The result of this policy was that the modernization of India lagged far behind world trends. At the time of independence it was realized by the new leaders that industries should be developed to stabilize the economy of the country. A number of Indian industries have shown marked growth since 1947. The nation is now the second

[16] E.W. Miller, *A Geography of Manufacturing* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1962), p. 247.

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largest producer of steel in the east and eighth in the list of world's industrial nations.[17] Its cotton textile industry is outranked only by that of the United States. In jute, the country is the world's leading producer. It makes fighter planes and transport planes, and has begun to produce tractors and tanks. In essence, India has made tremendous progress in various fields of industry. Added-value in modern industry is planned to show a 15-fold expansion from 1950-51 to 1975-76.[18]

In spite of this tremendous industrial progress achieved by India since independence, certain preconditions were not fulfilled. These unfulfilled conditions were that the vested interest of the private sector was not abolished, the capital goods industries were superimposed on a basically market-oriented economy run by the profit-motivated businessmen, and there was an inadequate market within the country for the expanded output of heavy industry. The capital goods produced by the heavy industries can be absorbed only if there is a long-term perspective of extending the public sector to the entire industrial sphere. This in turn requires a plan of progressive specialization of production. Shifting the emphasis to more consumer goods industries should be accomplished. The main problem is that the policies are not being implemented successfully. The best interest of the long-run growth of the economy is not to shift the emphasis away from a policy of industrialization but rather the creation of the political preconditions necessary for the successful implementation of the policies. The recent socialistic policy followed by the government led by Mrs Indira Gandhi probably will bring substantial changes in the industrial achievement of India. Until the recent split in the Congress Party, India's socialistic pattern of society remained a political policy even though much of the economic dynamism is found in the private sector.

The socialistic pattern proposed here implies that the basic criterion for determining lines of advance must not be private profit, but social gain. The pattern of development and the structure of socio-economic relations should be so planned that they result not only in appreciable increases in national income and employment but also in greater equality of wealth.[19] The socialistic pattern is probably more useful for heavy industries than for agricultural goods industries where 88 per cent of the people are involved. Indian Planning, unfortunately, is inspired more by political biases than by economic considerations. The policies are often not implemented as they are planned due to these biases.

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[17] Percival Spear, *India, Pakistan and the World*, 4th edition, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 9.

[18] Wilfred Malenbaum, "Industrial Progress in India under Planning," *Current History*, LIV, No. 320 (April, 1968), p. 207.

Progress made since independence has not markedly changed the regional distribution of industry. There is a marked imbalance in the level of industrialization in the various regions. The major areas of industrial concentration are: (1) the western region, where 47 per cent of the total industrial labour force is engaged in large-scale industrial establishments; (2) the eastern region, where 42 per cent is so engaged; and (3) the southern region where even yet only 10.5 per cent is engaged in large-scale industrial establishments[20] (Table 4). The northwest and northeastern regions are the poorest in industrial establishments.

Industries are developed primarily because of the potential resources available in an area and not on political considerations. Some political influence, however, is being exerted in decisions concerning the location of new plants. It is not unheard of for senior Congress leaders to exert influence to establish industries in their home constituencies.

Most of the large industrial complexes are situated near such big urban centres as Calcutta, Bangalore, Ahmedabad, Madras, Cochin, Delhi, Hyderabad, Kanpur, Bombay and Visakhapatnam (Fig. 12). These areas have geographical advantages for establishing industries in their superior transportation, marketing, and other relevant facilities.

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[19] *Three Pillars of Democracy* (New Delhi: Ministry of Community Development and Cooperation, Government of India, 1964), p. 16.

[20] P. P. Karan has selected industrial districts where 1,500 or more wage-earners were employed in manufacturing. These districts were termed as industrial districts for the purposes of delimiting Indian industrial regions.

TABLE 4

PRESENT REGIONAL PRODUCTION AND FUTURE POTENTIALITIES OF INDUSTRIAL RESOURCES IN INDIA

Region (State)	*Potentialities for Future Development*	*Actual Production Specialities*
Northeastern		
(Assam, Manipur, Tripura, Nagaland, and NEFA)	Petro-chemical, wood-chemical, tea.	Oil refining. Jute*
Eastern		
(West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa) 42**	Diversified—coal, metallurgical, iron and steel, heavy machine building, fertilizer, petro-chemical, jute, glass and food processing. Textile,* food processing (tea)*	Jute, coal, metallurgical, petro-chemical, fertilizer, iron and steel. Glass*
Southern		
(Andhra Pradesh, Tamil Nadu, Mysore, Kerala, Goa, Pondicherry, Mahe, Yanaon, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands) 10.4%	Wood chemicals, light engineering, ferrous metallurgical, coal chemical, ship building, aircraft, food processing, machine building. Petro-chemicals*	Textile, machine building, light engineering, chemical, aircraft, ship building. Food processing*
Central		
(Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh)	Food processing, sugar, ferrous and non-ferrous metallurgical, engineering. Chemical*, agro-based industry*	Ferrous metallurgical, heavy electricals, paper, Textile,* leather,* glass*

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*Indicates minor importance.

**Percentages are calculated from the large-scale industrial establishments in India. Percentages refer to the total number of workers employed in major industrial establishments all over India.

TABLE 4—(*Continued*)

Region (State)	*Potentialities for Future Development*	*Actual Production Specialities*
Western		
(Maharashtra, Gujarat, Diu, Daman, Dadra and Nagar Haveli) 47%	Textile, sugar, petro-chemical, diversified engineering, machine building, manufacture of petro-chemical instruments, automobile, wood and coal. Chemical*	Textile, petro-chemical, engineering, automobile, atomic energy. Chemical*
Northwestern		
(Punjab, Rajasthan, Himachal Pradesh, Haryana, Delhi, Jammu & Kashmir, and Chandigarh)	Agro-based industry, hydro-power industry, wood chemical, wool, silk, non-ferrous metallurgical. Chemical,* cement,* ceramic,* and light engineering*	Cotton, wool, silk, chemical Small-scale industries,* engineering*

*Indicates minor importance.

**Percentages are calculated from the large-scale industrial establishments in India. Percentages refer to the total number of workers employed in major industrial establishments all over India.

The iron and steel industry of India is making tremendous progress, and the export of semi-finished and finished products is increasing. The market for Indian machine tools includes not only the developing countries of South Vietnam, Iran, Nigeria and Thailand but also technologically advanced countries like the United States, Britain, Canada and West Germany. The major iron and steel plants established since independence in the public sector of the economy will increase the quality and export of steel goods. Four major iron and steel plants have been established with foreign collaboration during this period.

Each of these four large steel plants was established in its present location in one of four different states on the basis of availability of resources. There was agitation in Andhra Pradesh to establish a steel plant at Visakhapatnam, but for economic reasons the request was denied. The new Congress Government has agreed to establish this plant as pledged during the mid-term election campaign of 1971. Having a new steel plant became a status symbol, and agitation has been carried on to establish new steel plants in other parts of the nation. Russian economic assistance in building two of the four major steel plants has created fear in the minds of the general public that the Soviet Union might sometimes dominate the internal politics of India. An attempt was made to get American financial assistance for the Bokaro plant, but terms laid down by the United States were not acceptable to the Indian government. The concentration of income, entrepreneurs, and technical skills in the more highly developed regions have generated a great imbalance in the spatial economic structure of the country as a whole.

TABLE 5

LARGE IRON AND STEEL PLANTS ESTABLISHED AFTER INDEPENDENCE

Name of the Plant	*Location*	*Collaboration*	*Planned Capacity (Million tons)*
Durgapur	West Bengal	England	3.4
Bhilai	Madhya Pradesh	Soviet Union	3.2
Rourkela	Orissa	West Germany	3.5
Bokaro	Bihar	Soviet Union	5.5

New investors frequently avoid the Calcutta region, the Ruhr of India, because of political troubles. Labour difficulties are rife in the Calcutta region, and approximately 900 "Gherao incidents" (workers shutting management personnel into their offices) have occurred since the coalition government came to power. The leftists, in a kind of election strategy, charged that the dominant position in West Bengal business and industry had passed into non-Bengali hands, and thus convinced the voters of their right to either gain control of industry or at least have a fair share of the profits. In the western and southern states of Gujarat, Maharashtra, Mysore, Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, investment conditions are more stable. In Tamil Nadu, Kerala and Orissa, there are non-Congress administrations, but there are fewer economic troubles than in West Bengal and Bihar. Therefore, foreign investment is increasing.

The Indian government has considered the grievances of all the states and has made an effort to plan a programme of industrial development that is regionally balanced. New industries are being developed near large urban centres all over the country, for instance, ship-building in Visakhapatnam; machine tool, aircraft and telephone industries in Bangalore; heavy electronics in Bhopal; machine-building in Ranchi; and fertilizers, leather goods and oil-refining in Kanpur. Other industrial concentrations are being developed in Cochin, Mysore, Hyderabad, Kota and Amritsar. These scattered industrial developments are attracting workers from nearby areas, thereby transforming the economic base and hence improving the political stability of the various regions of the country. The regional migration to work and the consequent better economic conditions should eventually bind the people together and enhance the loyalty of the workers.

Finally, another very important step has been taken by the Planning Commission, that of decentralizing the pattern of development of the ubiquitous industries to fit the ideal of a socialistic society. The commission recommended that a large number of small towns, widely distributed over different parts of the country, should be developed into industrial townships with planned provision for small-scale and light industries.[21] India's small-scale industries are essentially artisan enterprises. These industries use agricultural and other indigenous products and are oriented towards the village economy. Hence, they are more acceptable to rural people and at least partially fill the gap created by the inevitably unequal distribution of heavier industrial concentrations. These craft industries employ more people and

[21] D.R. Dau, *Small Scale Industries and Handicrafts* (New Delhi: Sarvodaya Publishers, 1967), p. 8.

produce a larger quantity of goods than large-scale industries. The value of production from the ubiquitous industrial sector is about 30 per cent of the gross output of all the factories in the country. In 1967, the number of factories in this sector was over 107,000 with about 20,000,000 people employed.

The ubiquitous industries provide work to seasonally unemployed persons and thus help to create political stability. Moreover, the work is provided in the villages where women can also share in the craft industries. Therefore, the wide dispersal of the ubiquitous industries will lower the dependency ratio and increase the overall productivity.

TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATION

Transportation and communication are two of the many ingredients necessary to accelerate the pace of economic progress and political stability. In many instances they play a key role, and in all cases they set the limits of progress.[22] India is deficient in transportation and communication facilities. Although the nation accounts for 16 per cent of the world's population, it has only four per cent of the world's roads, two per cent of its rail freight, and one per cent of its trucks and buses. Regional famines, which still occur, illustrate strinkingly the need for better transportation and communication facilities.

The railway system is the biggest state undertaking and the world's second largest network under a single management, second only to that of the Soviet Union.[23] Since independence tremendous progress has been made in rail transportation. When India became independent in 1947, it inherited a railway system shattered by economic depression, worn out by abnormally heavy use in the war, and dismembered by partition. India's railways comprised not a single system but a large number of systems with different gauges. These systems are now organized into nine zonal systems, and some of the narrow-gauge tracks have been converted into meter-gauge tracks and meter-gauge ones into broad-gauge ones. Railway equipment is now reasonably sufficient for the needs of the country, and some is exported to Hungary, East Africa, Burma and Thailand. A new revolution to convert steam engines to diesel and electric locomotives is taking place. The number of passengers and amount of freight tonnage have increased tremendously.

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[22] Wilfred Owen, *Distance and Development: Transport and Communication in India* (Washington, D.C.: The Brooking Institution, 1968), p. 1.

[23] "Two Decades of Freedom: Facts at a Glance," *Socialist Congressman*, VII, No. 8-9 (August 15, 1967), p. 51.

There are direct political implications in railway travel and the distribution of railway lines. For example, as a means of attracting the attention of the government to a particular regional political problem, it has become the practice of groups of individuals to disrupt railway movement. Damage to railway property has been increasing year by year, and if the Minister of Railways is not popular with the troublesome groups, an appeal for his removal from office can be signed by sabotage of the railway system. As a means of agitating against a language policy in recent years, students in some of the southern states burnt railway coaches and set fire to railway stations.

The sparseness of the railway network in Assam, Orissa, Rajasthan and the southern states has caused difficulty in distributing food in times of shortage, and also has hampered efforts to control rebellious groups (Fig. 13). The unity of the country can be enhanced by the further development and integration of railway lines throughout the country.

Since 1951, India has increased its surface road mileage by 82 per cent. In the past 10 years, an average of 10,000 kilometers of newly surfaced roads had been constructed annually. The total length of the road network is over a million kilometers. The number of motor vehicles increased by 166 per cent during 1951-66, commerical vehicles increased 149 per cent, and road mileage 140 per cent. In the same period, the amount of travel nearly quadrupled, and by 1966 roads accounted for nearly as much inter-city travel as railroads. Still more road development is needed in rural areas. Approximately 82 per cent of India's people live in 570,000 rural villages. One out of three of these villages is more than five miles from an improved road, and only one out of nine villages is served by an all-weather road. In Uttar Pradesh where one-third of India's wheat is grown, food deficits can occur despite rich soil and the availability of substantial ground water resources because farmers are miles away from markets and have no roads. Nearly 36 per cent of the villages in the state are without a road, and in hilly areas 50 per cent of them have no road connection. The inadequacy of road connections in Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Orissa, western Rajasthan and parts of some of the southern states is an important factor in the shortage of tubewells (pumps), fertilizers and other agricultural needs.

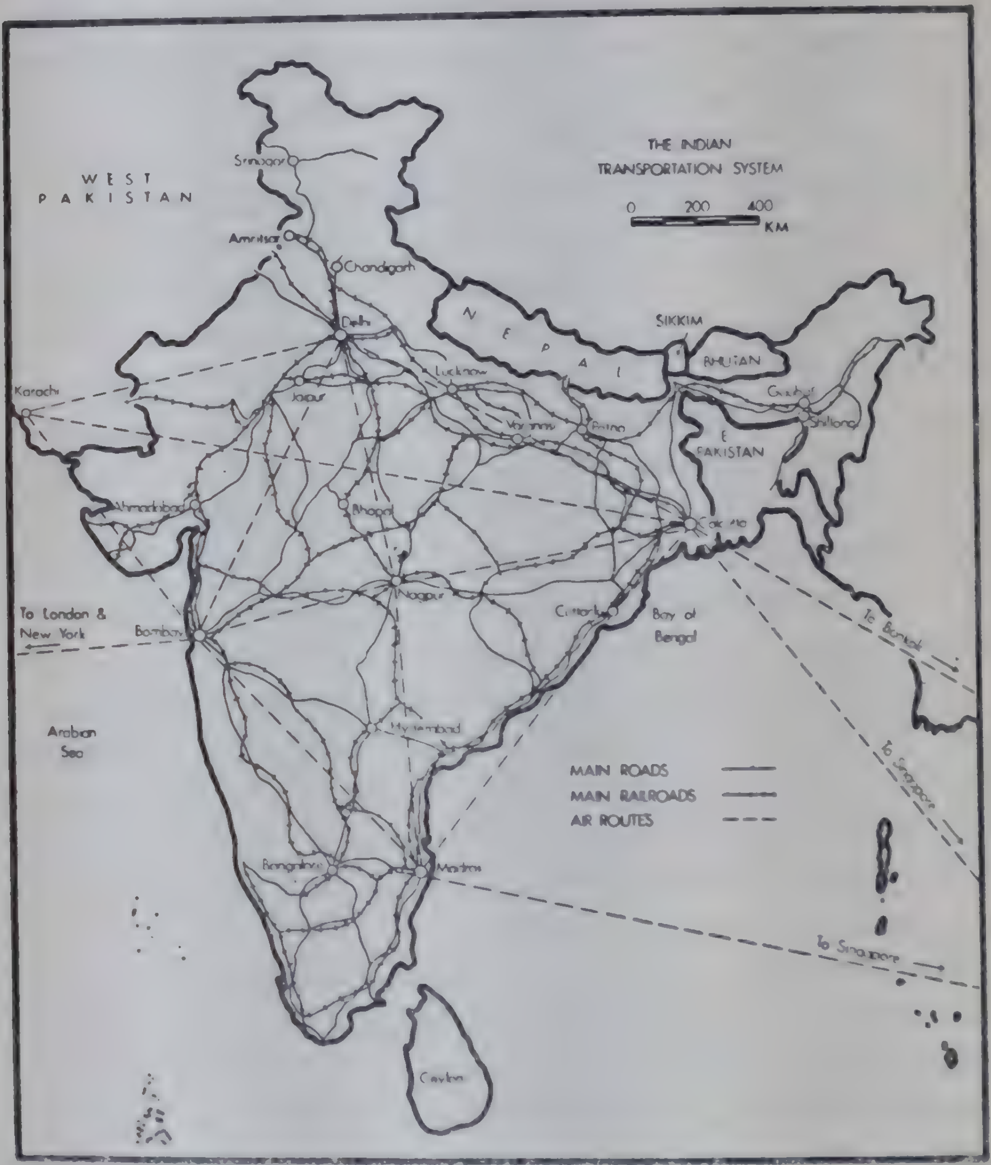
THE INDIAN TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM
0 200 400 KM
WEST PAKISTAN
Srinagar
Amritsar
Chandigarh
Delhi
NEPAL
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
Karachi
Jaipur
Lucknow
Varanasi
Patna
Gauhati
Shillong
E PAKISTAN
Ahmadabad
Bhopal
Calcutta
Nagpur
Cuttack
Bay of Bengal
To London & New York
Bombay
To Bangkok
Arabian Sea
Hyderabad
To Singapore
MAIN ROADS
MAIN RAILROADS
AIR ROUTES
Bangalore
Madras
To Singapore
Ceylon

FIG. 13

The inadequacy of transportation has a direct bearing on the mobility of the people; on agricultural and rural development, on the supply of fertilizer, seed and food grains; on the exploitation of mineral resources; and on industrial deliveries and retail trade. The lack of adequate transportation facilities results in social fragmentation and a lack of political and economic cohesiveness in the country.

Near the northern border of the country, political factors have led to road construction designed for defence. By 1966, 3,765 kilometers of new roads with a width of 6.1 meters had been constructed; 3,090 kilometers of roads had been widened and surfaced between Sonamarg and Leh in Ladakh. The immediate programme undertaken as a result of the defence emergency included the construction of 5,360 kilometers of new roads near the border and the widening of 4,360 kilometers. This road-building activity related to national defence was precipitated by the 1962 war with China.

Besides rail and road travel, air travel is an increasing phenomenon in India. Air travel, however, is not a major feature of the Indian transportation pattern. It may not become a regular feature even for the next generation, because it is eight times more expensive than railway travel. The immediate concern of all political parties and the public in relation to air transportation is the defence of the country by air. There is a popular demand for India to build its own fighter planes and to defend its own borders from hostile neighbours. Here again, transportation becomes a key to political stability and national security.

The telecommunications network is an almost equally important part of the political geography of the country. The post offices, the telegraph and telephone systems, and the radio and television stations are the media through which political propaganda is dispersed and the government's influence over its citizens is exercised. In India the postal and telegraph service is the second largest state undertaking, employing 500,000 people. There are currently more than 100,000 post offices, and the number of telephones is increasing rapidly.

Radio is probably the principal medium through which Indian political leaders communicate with the public. India's radio stations are able to reach 62 per cent of the nation's area where 77 per cent of the population live. All India Radio has installed community listening sets in about 150,000 villages. The broadcasts have, in a relatively short period of time, created an interest among rural folks in national and international issues along with their strictly local interests.

India has also introduced a television network in the Delhi area, especially for educational purposes. In 1967, the only television transmission in India was from the five-kilowatt Delhi station of All India Radio, serving a radius of 30 kilometers. At present there are about 10,000 television sets in Delhi. The price of a set is Rs. 2,000. Fourth Five-Year Plan envisages the setting up of TV stations at Bombay (with repeater transmitter at Poona), Calcutta, Madras, Kanpur or Lucknow and extension of facilities in the Delhi TV station. The proposed expansion of the range of Delhi Television broadcasts from a radius of 40 kilometers to 70-80 kilometers by 1970 when the new TV tower comes into operation. Two firms in the large-scale sector had been licensed for the manufacture of 10,000 TV sets each per year. Another two small-scale firms were granted license to manufacture 5,000 TV sets each per year. A national programme which would provide television to about 80 per cent of India's population during the next 10 years would be of great significance for national integration, in development of social and economic schemes and in promotion of family planning units. The coverage of 80 per cent of the population will be through the community sets rather than individual ones. It is of particular relevance to the larger population living in isolated communities. All of the communication facilities have helped to improve the internal cohesion of the country and to broaden knowledge of and interest in international relations with the outside world.

Modern communications can play a tremendous role in educating the farmers, improving farm techniques, lowering the rural an urban birth rate, and uniting the nation. Major changes in the attitudes of the people can be brought about by use of the official communications network, changes which will improve the general standard of living and create a better image of the country among the various nations of the world.

FOREIGN TRADE

The nature and extent of the foreign trade of a country has a direct relationship to general economic conditions, to internal and external political problems, and even to governmental stability. India, with more than 21 years of independence, must seek affiliations and trade relations with ideologically suitable partners if it is to survive as a democratic nation. India's trade with the United States and the United Kingdom is increasing at a rapid rate. In 1966-67 the United States supplied more than 36.8 per cent of India's imports, with wheat being the leading import commodity. There has been and is strong political opposition from the leftists against importing such large amounts of wheat from the United States. The leftists charge that India's planning is not based on economic practicalities. The virtual dependence on the United States for wheat, they say, has lowered the nation's prestige by portraying India's image as that of a hungry and even starving stepchild of American capitalism. Moreover, the United States has threatened to cut off wheat shipments during at least one time of crisis. Such a threat was posed by President Lyndon B. Johnson at the time of the disturbance with Pakistan in 1965. This type of threat and the uncertainty of the food supply is dangerous in a time of national crisis.

In recent years wheat has constituted more than 20 per cent of India's imports by value, and machinery and iron and steel production have amounted to another 25 per cent. Cotton and raw jute are other major imports. In spite of difficult relations with Pakistan in recent years, India should strive hard to develop good relations with that country because it can supply raw jute and long staple cotton at cheaper prices than any other area. For the best economic development of the Indian subcontinent and general peace in the area, it is essential that both these neighbours should have good trade relations with each other.

As is the case with the United States and the United Kingdom, India's trade with the East European countries is also increasing. These East European countries, which are likewise capable of meeting many of India's demands for machinery and raw materials, offer a considerable market for her primary, semi-processed and manufactured goods.[24] India's trade with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria is largely carried out on a bilateral basis. Although there is an ideological difference between India and these countries, there is little, if any, interference by these countries in the internal politics of India. The Indian people think that the barter-type trade agreements are only another form of trade relations and have nothing to do with politics. There is some political manoeuvring, however, especially by the Soviet Union, but the Soviet political influence is more on external policies than on internal state politics.

Exports to four major trading partners, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and Japan, accounted for 56.1 per cent of the total exports of India in 1966-67, as against 54.8 per cent in 1965-66. India's main exports in 1966-67 were textile yarn and fabrics (31.7 per cent), jute (21.5 per cent), and tea (14 per cent). The export of jute and tea is increasing steadily, although jute production has been rather low for the last two or three years. The United States alone accounts for about 45 per cent of the total export of jute goods. Pakistan, which supplies cheaper jute goods than India, is a strong competitor in this commodity. Besides textiles, jute and tea, other traditional items of export are spices, tobacco, mineral ores, scrap metals, leather, hides and skins, vegetable oil and oil cakes, cashew nuts, coffee and coir. Finished goods are increasing in India's exports, and there is a sharp decline in raw material exports, especially cotton mineral ores and raw leather. The finished machine goods are exported to countries in North and South America, western Europe, Australia, and New Zealand, in addition

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[24] T.K. Sarangan, United Nations, Conference on Trade and Development, *Liner Shipping in India's Overseas Trade* (New Delhi : Conference on Trade and Development, 1967), p. 40.

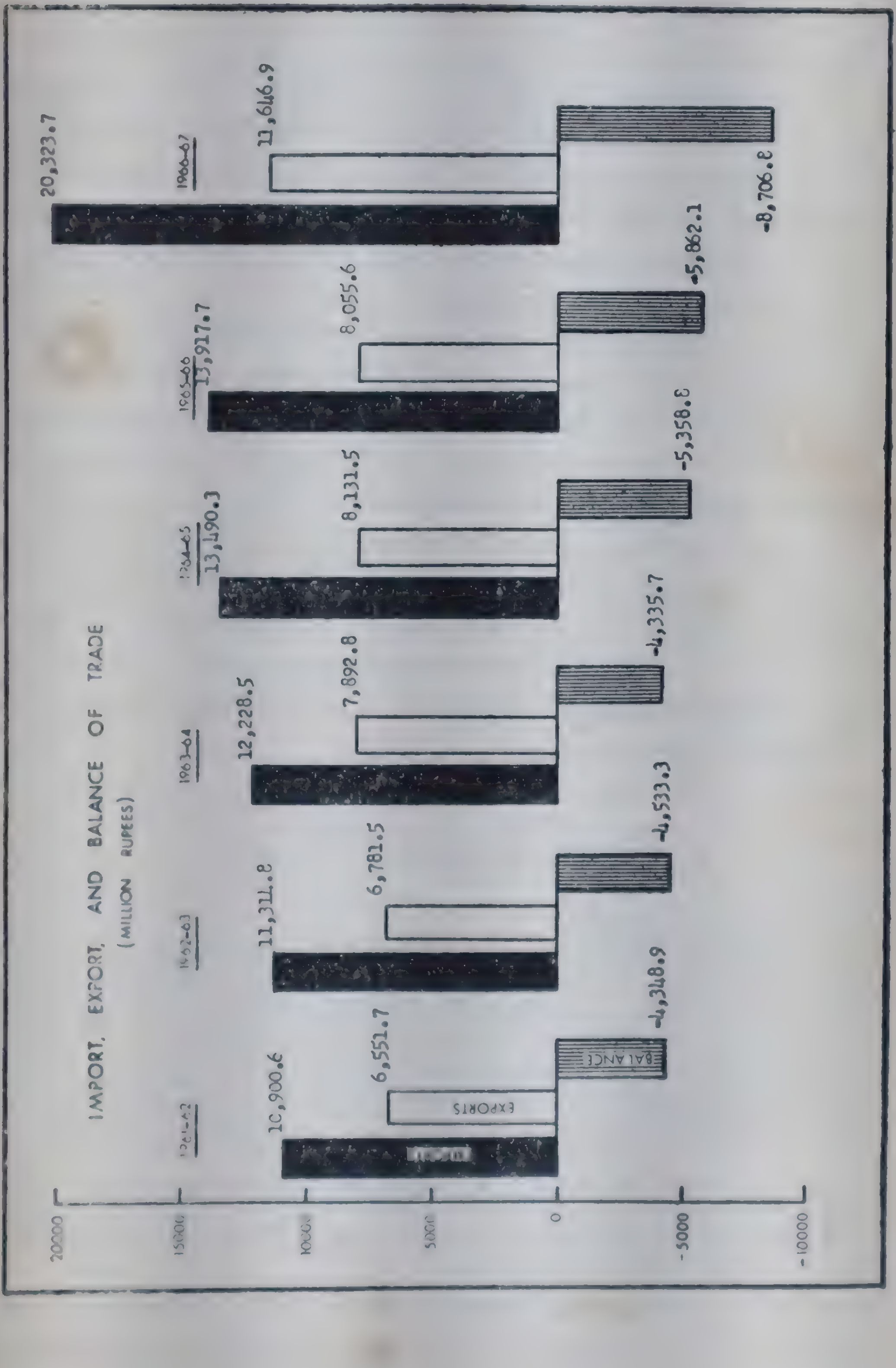
IMPORT, EXPORT, AND BALANCE OF TRADE
(MILLION RUPEES)
1961-62
1962-63
1963-64
1964-65
1965-66
1966-67
IMPORTS
EXPORTS
BALANCE
10,900.6
6,551.7
-4,348.9
11,311.8
6,781.5
-4,533.3
12,228.5
7,892.8
-4,335.7
13,490.3
8,131.5
-5,358.8
13,917.7
8,055.6
-5,862.1
20,323.7
11,646.9
-8,706.8
20000
15000
10000
5000
0
-5000
-10000

FIG. 14

to the less developed countries of Africa, southeast Asia and the Middle East. In exchange for these machinery purchases, the Middle East countries supply petroleum and petro-chemicals, cotton (long staple Egyptian cotton), and other raw materials for India's growing manufacturing industries.

India always has a deficit balance of trade, unfortunately, and this imbalance is increasing (Fig. 14). While it increased only nine per cent from 1964-65 to 1965-66, the increase was 49 per cent from 1965-66 to 1966-67 (Fig. 14). The adverse balance of trade recorded a marked fall to $ 100,000,000 due to a slash in the imports and marginal improvement in the export over the six months period, April-September, 1969. The rise in exports during the April-September, 1969 period was 3 per cent. This adverse balance is not only a constant worry to government, economists and political leaders, but also a severe burden to the masses. The price of consumer goods has been increasing at an alarming rate. The price of food grains, for instance, increased from a base index of 100 in 1952-53 to 262 in 1967. The generalized wholesale price of all commodities in the same period rose to 222. The price rises have an adverse effect on political stability. To an important degree they are due to the sudden explosion of population in recent years.

DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS

The population explosion of India is a subject of constant worry to educated Indians and many of the democratic nations. Among the nations of the world, with 16 per cent of the total world population and an estimated total of 540,000,000 India ranks second in population only to the People's Republic of China. Although India has approximately one-third the area of the United States, it shelters about two and a half times the population of the United States. Such a vast population creates numerous economic and political problems for the country.

India's population is increasing at a very rapid rate. In the decade of the last decennial census (1951-61) the absolute increase was 78,100,000. India's population today approximates that of the 55 states of Africa and Latin America put together. The annual rate of growth at present is 2.5 per cent, i.e. 13,000,000 new souls are added per year. India's population is estimated at 555,000,000 in 1971, 625,000,000 in 1976 and 719,000,000 in 1981. India's modern rate of growth, however, is not exceptional in relation to the rate of growth in Japan or, for that matter in western countries such as Great Britain, Germany, the Soviet Union or the United States, all of which at times have exceeded India's percentage increase.[25] The rapid increase in India was especially notable during 1951-61, but because of very high death rates the net increase was very moderate in earlier periods. Four important factors about India's population are important to note: the huge absolute increase, the continuing high level of natural fertility, the rapidly decreasing death rate, and the persistent poverty of the people.

The direct effect of this high increase in the past decade is reflected in the increased dependency ratio and the high unemployment which together nullify much of the progress achieved through planning. Any gradual growth in per capita income is essentially neutralized by the growth of population, so that what emerges is a growth of the total economy rather than an increase in income per person. Nearly 80 per cent of the people who live below the poverty line do not get enough caloric intake for healthy living. The tragedy is that the strenuous efforts, which the Government of India has made in increasing irrigation, land reclamation and food output, have been largely cancelled by the growth of population. Simply to provide for the additional annual population increase, the country needs to develop resources adequate to provide for 126,500 more schools, 372,500 more school teachers, 2,509,000 more houses, 188,774,000 more meters of cloth, 12,545,300 more quintals of food, 4,000,000 more jobs, etc.[26]

Another feature of the sudden increase in population is the associated change in the dependency ratio. According to the 1961 census, 40.2 per cent of the total population was in the 0-14 age group, 47.9 per cent in the 15-59 group, and 11.9 per cent in the 50 and over group (Fig. 15). Since the working population is considered to be those in the 18-58 age bracket, the dependency ratio in 1966 was 884 per thousand, and it is expected to be 896 in 1971.[27] The increased dependency ratio lowers the per capita income and places a great strain on the working population.

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[25] Norton Ginsburg, *The Pattern of Asia* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1958), p. 465.

[26] Dr S. Chandrashekhar, "A National Population Policy Wanted," *The Hindu Weekly Review*, February 11, 1968, p. 12.

The increase in population has also aggravated the employment situation. In 1961, there were 8,000,000 people unemployed; by 1966 this figure had reached approximately 12,000,000; and by 1971, there will probably be 15,000,000 unemployed. The number of unemployed is increasing in spite of the fact that the Government of India created 13,000,000 new jobs during the Third Five-Year Plan (1961-66) and is expected to create 20,000,000 more jobs between 1966 and 1971. In India unemployed people often stage demonstration and demand jobs when jobs are not available. Significantly, the Communist Party and other leftist parties have instigated these unemployed workers to stage riots and demonstrations and to loot commercial establishments.

The uneven distribution of population has a particular bearing on certain economic and political differences over the country. Half of the population of India lives on less than one quarter of the available land, and one-third is concentrated on less than six per cent of the land. The average density according to the latest census was 138 per square kilometer. This represents a density approximately 15 times greater than that of Africa, Latin America, North America and the Soviet Union.[28] Densities are greatest in the well-watered alluvial plains of the Ganges and on the coastal lowlands, especially in the rice lands of Kerala and West Bengal. By contrast, parts of the dry interior are relatively sparsely populated (Fig. 16). The Ganges Valley, still predominantly agricultural, now has a density of population comparable to that of many western industrialized areas. Interestingly enough, governments of all of the densely settled states (Kerala,

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[27] Dependency ratio = 0-17 + 58/1000 or 18-58.

[28] Thomas E. Dow, Jr., "The Population of India," *Current History*, XLIV, No. 330 (April, 1968), 219.

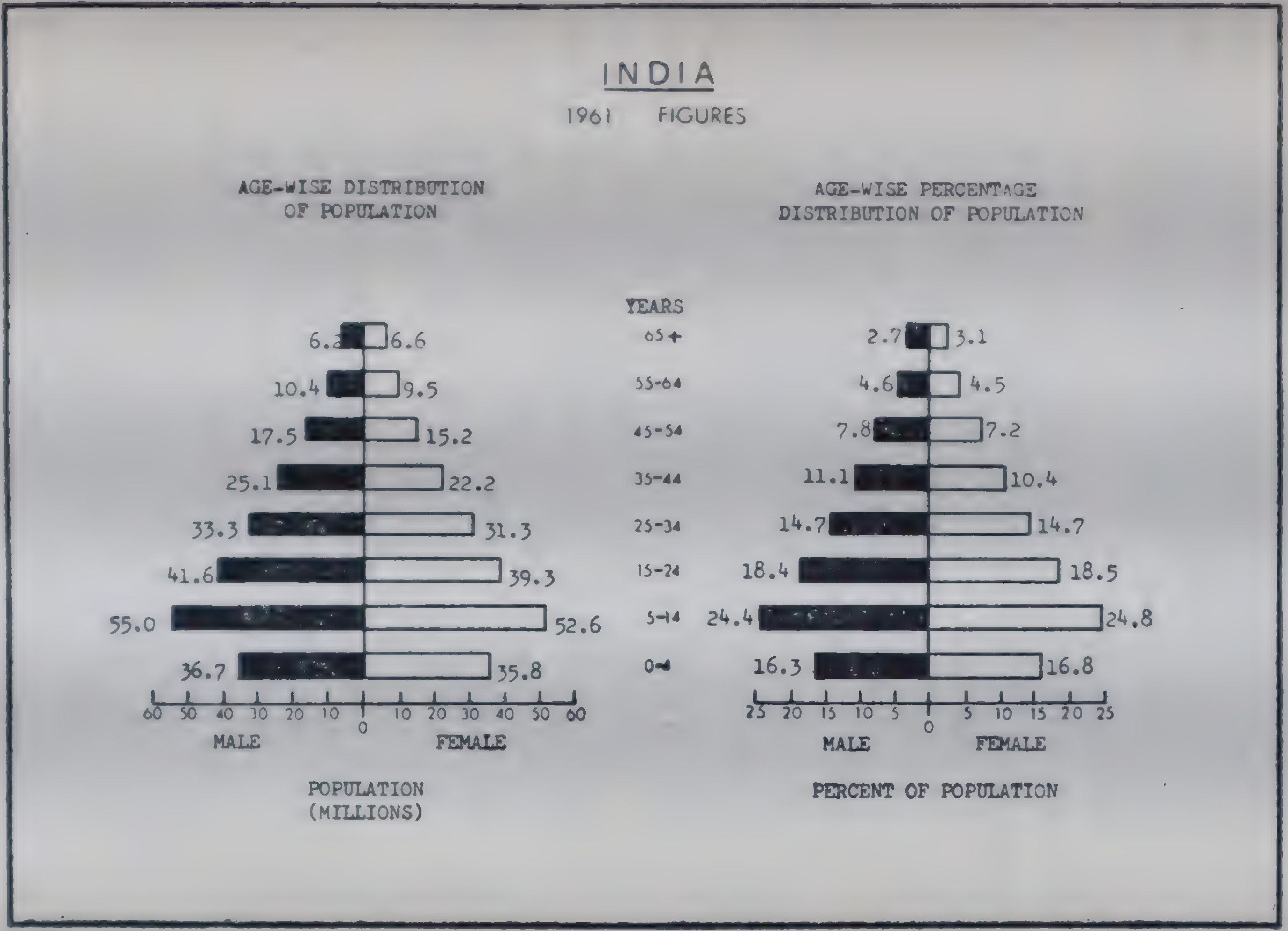
INDIA
1961 FIGURES
AGE-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
AGE-WISE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION
YEARS
65+
55-64
45-54
35-44
25-34
15-24
5-14
0-4
6.2
6.6
10.4
9.5
17.5
15.2
25.1
22.2
33.3
31.3
41.6
39.3
55.0
52.6
36.7
35.8
60 50 40 30 20 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 60
MALE
FEMALE
POPULATION (MILLIONS)
2.7
3.1
4.6
4.5
7.8
7.2
11.1
10.4
14.7
14.7
18.4
18.5
24.4
24.8
16.3
16.8
25 20 15 10 5 0 5 10 15 20 25
MALE
FEMALE
PERCENT OF POPULATION

FIG. 15

West Bengal, Tamil Nadu, Punjab, and the Delhi Municipal Council) are not under the control of the Congress Party. Uttar Pradesh recently voted for the Congress Party. Kerala and Tamil Nadu have Communist and DMK governments respectively, and in the Delhi Municipal Council power is held by the Jana Sangh. West Bengal and Punjab were under the Communist Party and the Akali Dal Party respectively. There is a Presidential rule in both these states.

The rather marked urban growth and the village to city migration patterns of the Indian population have a variety of political effects. Though India continues to be a predominantly agricultural and rural country, the urban proportion of the total population has been slowly increasing, from 11 per cent in 1901 to 18 per cent in 1961.[29] Moreover, during 1951-61, the rate of urban growth (26.4 per cent) was higher than that of rural growth (20.6 per cent). Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Gujarat are the most urbanized states in the country. These three states draw more than their share of industries and attract greater investment of private capital, and are thus achieving notable improvement in their standard of living. The elections in Tamil Nadu are generally won by the urban, industrial and commercial entrepreneurs rather than by the more numerous rural agriculturalists. Most of the political decisions are taken in the large cities where the capitals of the states are located.

Internal migration is not a prominent aspect of Indian population. The comparative immobility of the Indian people has long been obvious from the official census reports. In every Indian census, nearly 90 per cent of the people have been enumerated in the districts in which they were born.[30] Five per cent of the people move to the adjoining districts due to job opportunities in more industrialized areas. This traditional social restriction to their birthplace has created a local and regional feeling among the people that is reflected in politics. Except during times of national emergency, the tendency towards separatism is evident in many of the regions and states of India. A greater sense of national unity and integration throughout all of India is one of the objectives of the present government. Most of the migration that is taking place is near such large urban areas as Bombay, Delhi, Calcutta, Bangalore, Madras, Hyderabad and Kanpur. This migration has created a severe unemployment problem, an increased rioting and crimes in the big cities. Another type of migration is that which takes place when a severe regional drought condition arises, but this is not a seasonal or permanent migration. Such migrations create acute food shortages in the cities to which the hungry migrants turn for emergency relief, and they thus disrupt the peace and stability of municipal administration. More internal migration, especially mobility from one area to another, will tend to unify the nation and strengthen the idea of nationhood. As one means to this end, the Government of India has made it compulsory for all Indian Civil Service personnel (Indian Administrative Service, Indian Police Service, and Indian Administrative and Accounts Service) to be assigned to posts in states other than their home state.

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[29] Dr S. Chandrashekhar, *India's Population: Facts, Problem and Policy* (New Delhi: Meenakshi Prakashan, 1967), p. 11.

[30] Gunnar Mydral, *op. cit.*, p. 387.

The vast population of India is a serious concern not only of the Indian educated elite but also of governments, groups and individuals in other friendly nations of the world. With the help of the United Nations, the United States and a number of other countries, India has begun an official and already effective family planning programme. Under this programme about 6,500,000 sterilizations have been performed in the country so far and the majority of them were performed in rural areas. It was also more than 50 per cent of the total world performance in sterilization.[51] The insertion of intra-uterine loops was 2,910,291 and the distribution of condoms was 200,000,000 per year. This figure may go up to 600,000,000 or 700,000,000 per year within a period of three or four years. The family planning programme is increasing at a faster rate. At present there are 1,800 urban family planning centres, 5,085 rural family welfare planning centres and 20,149 sub-centres, as well as 7,035 other rural medical centres doing family planning work. There are 56,000,000 couples in the country with three or more children and, according to Dr S. Chandrashekhar, former Health and Family Planning Minister, these couples should undergo voluntary sterilization. Studies have shown that the majority of Indians do not oppose family planning in principle. There is no religious prejudice against birth control. Today 90 per cent of the people in urban areas are aware of the possibility of family planning, 70 per cent accept it, and 35 per cent practice it, whereas in the villages the comparable figures are only 60 per cent, 30 per cent, and 15 per cent.

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[51] "National Conference on Population Policy and Programme in New Delhi," *India News*, VIII, No. 41 (January 2, 1970), p. 2.

The family planning programme has direct political implications for both public and private expenditures. Opposition to the programme is due to the old established traditions of having more sons for social security and to the programme's encouragement of late marriages which is also contrary to tradition. The young people in reproduction age brackets are mostly not opposed to family planning. Apparently insufficient contraceptive distribution programmes have brought some resentment among the village folk. The old village leaders who practically hold the political power in villages are still not actively endorsing the family planning programme. The young people find themselves confronting these elderly pillars of village politics, and the result is sometimes a conflict between the two groups. Some politicians are worried that the birth control programme will cost seats in the national parliament. If some regions follow the family planning programme vigorously, it will eventually lower their voice in the parliament. This concern is openly voiced in Tamil Nadu, where the birth control programme is very effective.

In conclusion, the bonds of political unity which have been brought into existence in independent India must be strengthened by more social and economic integration. The political future throughout south and southeast Asia depends largely on which of the two great neighbouring states, Communist China or democratic India, will be more successful in solving its economic problems. Failure in India could mean the end of democracy there and in some of the smaller nations as well. Thus India must succeed in its planning programmes. Economically, India must progress at a faster rate than China and must control its population growth to attain success in its democratic ideals. The present family planning programme should be extended, and the masses should be better educated as to its techniques and objectives. The last four general elections and the mid-term election of 1969 have indicated that democracy in India can survive if the unity of the nation is maintained and the rate of economic development is accelerated.

CHAPTER
IV

Internal Political Situation

While in the process of assuming power, the new Indian government had to cope with one internal crisis after another. Following the bloodletting, looting and unprecedented mass migration that accompanied partition, law and order had to be restored, and mass machinery had to be organized to deal with the millions of non-Muslim refugees from East and West Pakistan. A major task of the new administration was to unite India and dethrone 562 princely rulers. Although the British dominated the whole of Indian empire, they gave autonomous status to the princely states which proved to be disintegrating forces for independent India. The territories of these princely states were also vaguely defined. For example, the territories of Baroda State were spread all over Gujarat in 40 odd bits of enclaves inter-laced with British districts in such a manner that it was impossible, without reference to a detailed map, to realize accurately their position, extent and boundaries.[1] Within the limits of Gujarat there were some 350 independent princely states and many of the states have their scattered enclaves of territory, and added together these states divided the map of Kathiawar into about 860 different areas (Fig. 17). There were at least 50 states with an area of less than five kilometers, but after integration there were only 17 districts in Gujarat state. Geographically, the princely states were scattered over every portion of the map of India (Fig. 18). The lack of geographical contiguity made it difficult to unite and integrate the territories of the various states into larger units. It was soon quite apparent, however, that the Government of India would find it worthwhile to depart from strict logic in order to get the larger states freely and willingly into a union and, at the same time, extend control over that union.

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[1] S.P. Dasgupta, "The Changing Map of India," *The Geographical Review of India*, XXII, No. 3 (September, 1960), p. 29.

INTEGRATION OF INDIAN STATES

Before independence, there was a widespread fear that the vast number and striking diversity of the princely states, some of which were larger in area and population than such European nations as France, Germany and Spain, would prove a serious obstacle to the unity, cohesion and stability of India. It was speculated that India would live or perish as a union depending on how it solved the problem of integration. The princely states had their own individual revenue sources, land-tenure patterns, legal and monetary systems, transportation networks, administrative machinery and police forces. Moreover, the Indian Independence Act left the Indian states completely free, and so created not two but 564 independent countries, of which two, India and Pakistan, were to be dominions.[2] In theory, it left India even more fragmented than when the British first began to assume authority. As a start toward integrating various territories into a union, the Government of India established a separate Department of State.

The aim of the newly formed (June 25, 1947) Department of State, it should be re-emphasized, was to establish the unity of India. Professor R. Coupland suggested that India could live if its Muslim limbs in the northwest and northeast were amputated, but could it live without its heart?[3] The heart here signifies the interior areas of India, i.e. the Gangetic plain and northern part of the southern peninsula. In revamping the territorial organization inherited from the British, the Government of India has tried to create a system of states which satisfies the maximum number of regional interests and, at the same time, furthers national cohesion.[4] On July 5, 1947 Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (Minister of State) and the last Viceroy of India (Lord Mountbatten) gave long and forceful speeches to the princely rulers on the merits of integration. Within a week of these speeches, all the states within the old geographical limits of British India had accepted union with India except Hyderabad, Junagarh, and Jammu and Kashmir. There was no possibility of small and medium-sized princely states to survive without joining the Indian Union. For the purpose of defence, foreign affairs and communications, the states had to depend upon the Central Government as they did before independence with British rulers. They had no right of succession in the above matters.

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[2] Sir Percival Griffith, *The British Impact on India* (London: Frank Cass and Company Ltd., 1965), p. 355.

[3] "The Indian Dominion and the States," *World Today*, V, No. 1 (January, 1949), p. 30.

In the first of these three holdout states, the Nizam of Hyderabad, a Muslim prince ruling over an overwhelming majority of Hindu subjects, had shown an inclination to establish a sovereign state. It was widely felt, however, that an independent Hyderabad might be a danger to the safety of India, since a sovereign state within the heart of a larger country might create tensions by aligning with one or more enemies of the larger enclosing state. There are landlocked countries in the world like Switzerland and Austria. But to compare Hyderabad to Switzerland or Austria is historically and geographically unsound. Switzerland and Austria have common frontiers with more than one state and their politics and economy accordingly developed on different lines.[5] Whereas Hyderabad is landlocked only to Indian territory, to develop defence, economic, political and military relations with foreign countries, Hyderabad had to violate India's sovereignty. Economically, Hyderabad has always been an integral part of India. Its railways, post and telegraph, and air communications were conducted by the Government of British India. It has been dependent upon India for food supplies and essential commodities for living. Ethnically, culturally, socially and linguistically Hyderabad has always been a part of India. Considering all the essential factors, on September 13, 1948, Indian troops entered and subdued Hyderabad, and by this action resolved a problem that had been troubling the mind and body of the new Union since its inception on August 15, 1947.[6]

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[4] Ranjit Tirtha, "Geographical Reorganization of Indian States, 1947-1960," (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1962), p. 2.

[5] *White Paper on Hyderabad* (New Delhi: The Manager, Government of India Press, 1948), p. 7.

The story of the Muslim ruler of Junagarh is a bit different from that of the Nizam of Hyderabad. The Junagarh ruler refused to accede to India, preferring union with Pakistan. His subjects rose in revolt against him, however, and he was forced to flee to Pakistan, whereupon Indian armed forces restored order in his state. The Government of India held a referendum in February, 1948, which went almost unanimously in favour of union with India. It was finally agreed that Junagarh should be included within the state of Saurashtra.[7] The domains of Junagarh were scattered in different parts of Saurashtra and separated by other territories (Fig. 17). Whether considering the problem politically, economically, or technically, it would have been very difficult for India or Junagarh to administer the fragmented area effectively.

Integration in India was accomplished rapidly. Within less than a year after independence, the number of state units had been reduced from 562 to 27 (Fig. 19). The rulers were quick to appreciate the change and accepted the Government of India's policy of integration and democratization. Integration was achieved by following a realistic policy. Some states were merged with provinces geographically contiguous to them; some were formed into viable unions of states, and some were converted into centrally administered areas.[8] Integration in most instances was achieved swiftly and peacefully.

After independence, India gained more territory and population through the integration of the princely states than it lost through partition. The essentially bloodless revolution, which brought about a great geographical transformation in the inner structure of the Indian nation has had no parallel in world history. It took three terrifying wars and sixty years for Germany to unite its people into a nation state. Similarly, in Italy unity was achieved only after several bloody military campaigns. In the United States of America it took four years of terrible civil war to consolidate a fragile federal structure.

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[6] "India: The Settlement with Hyderabad," *Round Table*, XXXIX, No. 153 (December, 1947), 67-68.

[7] Holden Furber, "The Unification of India," *Pacific Affairs*, XXIV, No. 4 (December, 1951), 357.

[8] A. Krishna Swami, *The Indian Union and the States: A Study in Autonomy and Integration* (New York: Pergamon Press, 1965), p. 16.

The process of unification that India witnessed after independence was far more than simple territorial integration. A common legal system and a uniform judicial administration were adopted, permeating all levels of social and economic life. An integrated system of transportation and communication was developed, cutting across the territories of the former princely states and British provinces. This functional integration has provided the country with some important ingredients of unity. Language differences have, on the other hand, tended to shatter internal unity.

REORGANIZATION OF STATES ON A LINGUISTIC BASIS

A common language in India could be a powerful basis for national unity, but according to the 1951 census there were 844 languages and dialects in the country.[9] The 14 major regional languages, specified in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution of India, are spoken by 91 per cent of the enumerated population. Of the remaining tongues, 63 are "foreign" languages, and another 720 are spoken by fewer than 100,000 persons each. In India a linguistic group seldom includes in any large area a majority of more than 75-80 per cent, and it often has not been possible to form states with minorities smaller than 20-25 per cent.

The vast majority of Indian languages fall into two major groups, one concentrated in the north and one in the south. The northern languages are Indo-Aryan and are derived from the Sanskrit family, whereas the South Indian languages are not.

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[9] Robert L. Hardgrave, Jr., "The Riots in Tamil Nadu: Problems and Prospects of India's Language Crisis," *Asian Survey*, V, No. 8 (August, 1965), 403.

The Tamil language, for instance, has not been influenced by Sanskrit and has no similarities with Hindi or its associated languages. The people of Tamil Nadu feel that the nation is dominated by the North, and that the South has been both neglected and exploited. The Congress leadership, they say, has been drawn predominantly from northern India, and south Indians, they point out, were under-represented in the cabinets of Nehru and Shastri, especially in comparison with the states of Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Maharashtra. The young people in Tamil Nadu demonstrated against the imposition of Hindi as the national language. Hindi books were burnt, and the Hindi signs in railway stations were defaced or ripped down. The decision to make Hindi the national language was taken with the reasoning that, among the 14 major languages, Hindi was spoken by the largest percentage, that is, by about 42 per cent of the population.

Unfortunately, Hindi at the time of its adoption could not compare in literary development with at least three of the other languages, Bengali, Tamil and Marathi.[10] Nevertheless, geography and politics make the Hindi-speaking Ganges plain the heartland of India. Significantly, the fewest boundary changes at the time of independence were made in northern India where Hindi is the predominant language.

On the world scale, it is not clear whether linguistic groups make ideal political units. The Soviet Union and Yugoslavia have made efforts to organize political states on a linguistic basis, but both of these countries possess one predominant language. Russian is spoken by 58.4 per cent of the people of the Soviet Union, and Serbo-Croatian by 75 per cent of those in Yugoslavia. Belgium and Switzerland, to cite the best West European examples of linguistic pluralism, have both had to contend with language problems. Currently, there is serious trouble about language usage in Belgium. The ever greater trouble in India is due to the fact that linguistic boundaries tend also to be caste boundaries; caste is essentially a regional or local affair. The linguistic demarcation of state boundaries in India, Nehru and other political leaders had thought, would intensify conflicts between castes. In Andhra, Kamas and Reddies (different castes) were lost in the welter of castes, and they faced each other as titans. Linguistically, Kamas and Reddies were one group, but due to caste affiliations they were politically opposed to each other. Although Brahmins had dominated Madras for generations, the DMK party, using anti-Hindi and anti-Brahmin slogans, won the state election in 1967. Now there is no Brahmin minister in the state government of Tamil Nadu. A strong agitation against Brahmins has also developed in Maharashtra.

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[10] Selig S. Harrison, "The Challenge to Indian Nationalism," *Foreign Affairs*, XXXIV, No. 4 (July, 1967), 624.

Linguistic states, however, can have some advantages of their own. Each such state can have its own internal cultural unity, linguistic tradition and economic ties. In general, the Hindi-speaking provinces of the north have had the least trouble with boundary changes, and they have always had good relations with their neighbours. Before evaluating the formation of linguistic boundaries in India in specific terms, for a meaningful evaluation, it is important to deal with the principles of formation of geographical boundaries in general.

Geographers study boundaries because they are elements of the cultural landscape, and because they represent the limits of political sovereignty which have meaningful areal quality over the earth's landscape.[11] Boundaries and frontiers are elements of landscape which provide either the *de facto* or *de jure* limits of political sovereignty, that is, they provide one measure of areal differentiation. They are, therefore, objects of interest to both political and regional geographers.

All political boundaries are man-made, that is, artificial; obviously they are not phenomena of nature. In a sense, then, there can be no such thing as a natural boundary, for all boundaries create artificial barriers to the normal relations between people. The boundaries of India are different from those in many parts of the world. In the Americas, Africa and Australia, for example, the relative emptiness of the land, at least at the time of the formation of boundaries, the absence of nationalism and the almost complete lack of geographical knowledge resulted in the establishment of geometrical boundaries, which were satisfactory enough as long as there was an abundance of space.

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[11] J.R.V. Prescott, *The Geography of Frontiers and Boundaries* (Chicago; Aldine Publishing Company, 1965), p. 27.

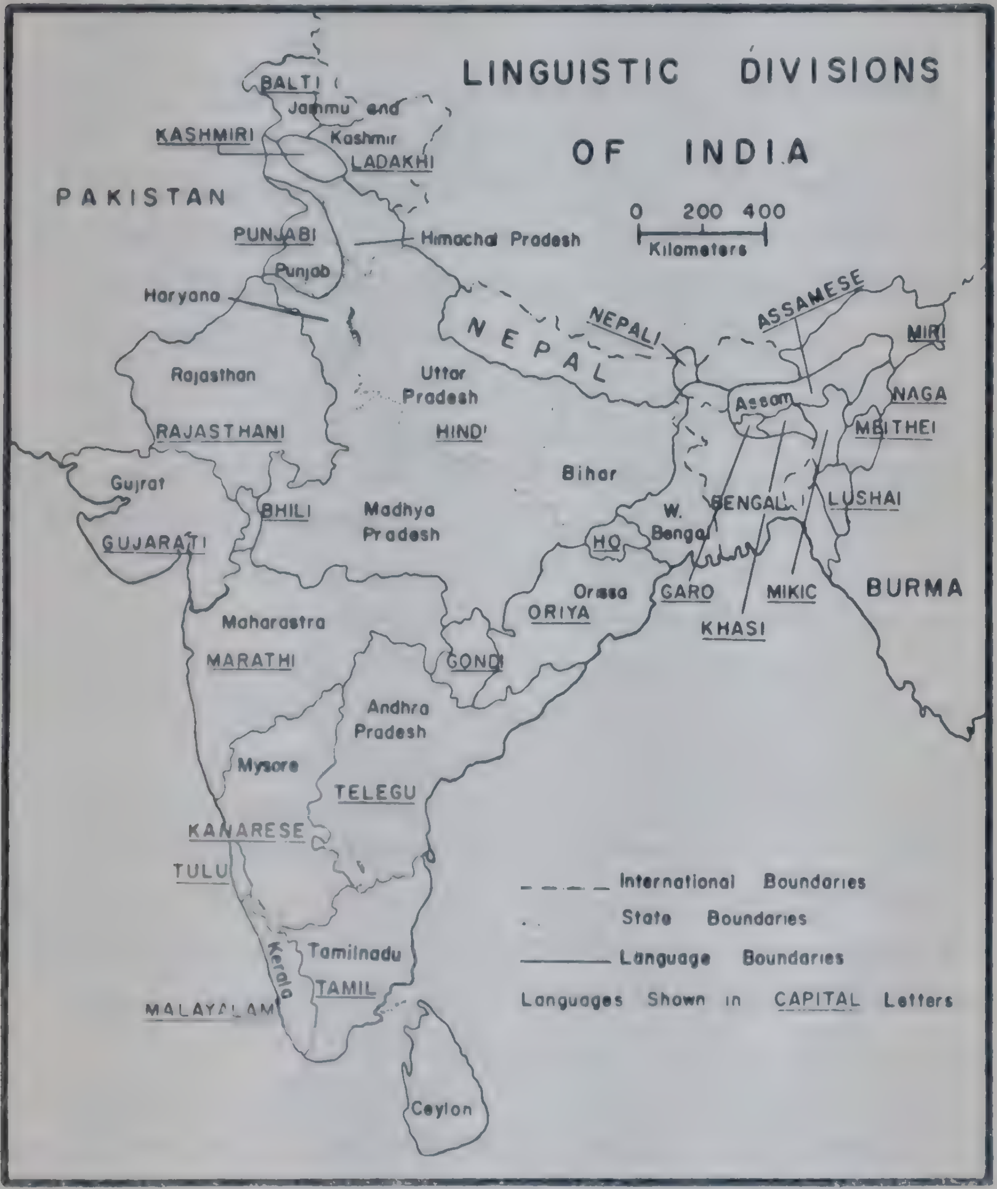
LINGUISTIC DIVISIONS OF INDIA
0 200 400
Kilometers
PAKISTAN
BALTI
Jammu and Kashmir
KASHMIRI
LADAKHI
PUNJABI
Punjab
Himachal Pradesh
Haryana
Rajasthan
RAJASTHANI
NEPAL
NEPALI
Uttar Pradesh
HINDI
ASSAMESE
MIRI
Assam
NAGA
MEITHEI
Bihar
Gujrat
GUJARATI
BHILI
Madhya Pradesh
W. Bengal
BENGALI
LUSHAI
HO
Orissa
ORIYA
GARO
KHASI
MIKIC
BURMA
Maharastra
MARATHI
GONDI
Andhra Pradesh
Mysore
TELEGU
KANARESE
TULU
Kerala
Tamilnadu
TAMIL
MALAYALAM
Ceylon
International Boundaries
State Boundaries
Language Boundaries
Languages Shown in CAPITAL Letters

FIG. 20

In contrast, anthropogeographic boundaries have been more important in Europe and in certain other densely populated parts of the world, notably in India. India is perhaps the only country where the states are divided primarily on a linguistic basis and in most of the cases the state and linguistic boundaries coincided (Fig. 20).

Although they were not so established at the time of independence, all the Indian states have been reorganized on linguistic principles. Even though such reorganization was often not favoured by the leaders in the government, they were eventually forced to divide the country on a linguistic basis for the following reasons :

(*a*) The original British-annexed territories had been formed without regard to any rational, scientific or linguistic considerations. Agitation for a linguistic state first appeared in Bengal, where prior to 1905 the British had grouped Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Chota Nagpur into one province, and later, for administrative convenience, divided the province into East and West Bengal. After vigorous agitation the two Bengals were re-united on August 25, 1911, on a linguistic basis. Similar agitation was launched during the period of British administration by Telugu-speaking people for the separation of Andhra (or Andhradesh) from Madras. In 1917, Andhra and Sind became separate Congress provinces. During the 1920 annual session of the Congress Party, at Nagpur, the party decided to apply the principle of linguistic redistribution of states on an all-India basis. To implement this objective, the All-India Conference appointed a committee in 1928 to draft a constitution for redistribution of the provinces on a more logical basis. The conference committee reported that the redistribution should be partly geographical and partly economic and financial, but that the main consideration should necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the areas concerned.[12]

(*b*) The presence of two or more linguistic blocs in the same state makes for inefficiency, friction and political-economic penalization of the minority group. The boundaries formed after the integration of the princely states were economically, administratively and linguistically illogical. It was widely felt that there were too many states even after integration. The newly created system of 27 states was unwieldy, expensive and inequitable, and to many it seemed a wiser course to form linguistic states.

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[12] John Bondurant, "Regionalism Versus Provincialism: A Study in Problems of Indian National Unity," *Indian Press Digest Monograph Series No. 4, December, 1955* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies: University of California, 1955), p. 22.

One of the causes for the reorganization of states into linguistic states was to do away with the unequal status of Part A, B, C and D states. The former Indian states and unions were joined together to form part 'A' states governed by a Governor. To some extent, Part A and B states were similar in their constitutional make-up. A major difference was that Part A states were welded together into a federal structure whereas there were some modifications and adjustment necessary to accommodate Part B states. Another difference was that the salaries of the Chief Justices and other judges of High Court in Part A states were fixed in the Second Schedule of the Constitution, the salaries of the Chief Justices and judges of the High Court in Part B states were to be determined by the Rajpramukh in consultation with the President. Part C states, which ranked lowest in the hierarchy, were administered by the Centre on a unitary basis.

Apart from A, B and C states there were also territories specified in Part D of Schedule I, which formed parts of India. These were island territories. This unwieldy set-up of A, B, C and D states was economically expensive, administratively unorganized and geographically unrealistic; thus the States Reorganization Commission recommended to reorganize states on a linguistic basis.

(*c*) The idea of linguistic states had mass appeal, and hence the opposition parties, especially the Communists, adopted this idea as a tactic to arouse opposition against the ruling Congress Party in order to gain control of its legislative programme.

In spite of these strong arguments in favour of forming linguistic states, however, there was strong opposition to the linguistic re-divisions of India.[13] For example, although the Congress Party pleaded for the formation of linguistic states throughout the period of the struggle for independence, once having gained freedom, Nehru and Patel felt that the linguistic re-division should be postponed in favour of other more pressing and important matters. Soon after partition, Prime Minister Nehru remarked that first things must come first, saying that there was a danger that the national integration achieved by the late Sardar Patel in the first year of independence might be nullified by a linguistic multi-partition of the country.[14] In summary, the problem of forming linguistic states was complex, not only because of India's size and population, and the great number of languages and dialects spoken within its borders, but also because it had chosen to solve the problems within the framework of parliamentary democracy. The newly formed Congress Government had to satisfy the masses who were vehemently supporting the idea of linguistic states.

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[13] *Report of Constituent Assembly (Legislative), November 27, 1947* (New Delhi: Government Printing Press, 1947), pp. 68-69.

The President of the Constituent Assembly of India appointed a three-man commission in June, 1948, to investigate the questions of state formation in Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka and Maharashtra. This commission, known as the Dar Commission, said that everything which helped the growth of nationalism in India had to go forward, and everything which threw obstacles in its way had to be rejected.[15] It concluded that linguistic groups are sub-nations, and if the intention was to create sub-nations in India there could not be a better way of doing it than to form linguistic provinces. In sum, the Commission strongly disapproved the formation of states on a linguistic basis. It warned that the unity of newly independent India would be jeopardized if the map of India were to be re-drawn along linguistic lines.

The Congress Party was not satisfied with the report of the Dar Commission and appointed its own three-man Linguistic Provinces Committee, known as the JVP committee,[16] which submitted its report on April 1, 1949. The JVP committee, however, seconded the serious warning of the Dar Commission and expressed serious concern that administrative, financial and economic problems might be overshadowed by the linguistic issue. The report was slightly less favourable to the formation of linguistic states than that of the Dar Commission.

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[14] *The Times of India* (Bombay), December 27, 1952, p. 1.

[15] *Handbook of Congressmen* (New Delhi: Indian National Congress, 1948), p. 48.

[16] The committee consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and Pattabhi Sitaramayya (JVP Committee).

Strong opposition to the JVP report resulted, especially in the Telugu-speaking areas. On December 15, 1952, a 52-day protest fast claimed the life of Potti Sriramulu, a passionate Andhra patriot. Violence started at several places. Some railway stations were burnt and several post offices were destroyed. New Delhi announced the immediate formation of a linguistic based Andhra State and promised an early appointment of the State's Reorganization Commission.[17] There was organized opposition from various political organizations, but the arguments for a linguistic state for the Telugu people prevailed.

The Ministry of Home Affairs of the Government of India appointed a three-man States Reorganization Commission on December 29, 1953, to inquire further into the linguistic states question and recommend a course of action. The report of the States Reorganization Commission, popularly known as the SRC report, is a 267-page document representing the conclusions of the three members[18] after travelling over 98,420 square kilometers, interviewing some 9,000 persons, and examining nearly 152,000 documents.[19] The unity of India, the report concluded, should be regarded as the primary consideration in any redrawing of the country's political units. After careful consideration, the commission recommended that the number of Indian states be reduced from 27 to 16, with three territories.[20] The SRC com-

[17] "India: Redrawing the Map," *Round Table*, XLVI, No. 181 (December, 1955), p. 70.

[18] The Commission consisted of S. Fazl Ali, as chairman, and Hridaya Nath Kunzru and Sardar K.M. Panikkar as members.

[19] Marshall Windmiller, "The Politics of States Reorganization of India: The Case of Bombay," *Far Eastern Survey*, XXV, No. 9, (September, 1956), p. 129.

[20] The states are : (1) Uttar Pradesh (Language Hindi); (2) Bihar (Hindi); (3) West Bengal (Bengali); (4) Orissa (Oriya); (5) Assam (Assamese); (6) Jammu and Kashmir (Kashmiri); (7) Kerala (Malayalam); (8) Karnataka (Kannada); (9) Madras (Tamil); (10) Andhra Pradesh (Telugu); (11) Hyderabad (Telugu); (12) Vidharbha (Marathi); (13) Madhya Pradesh (Hindi); (14) Rajasthan (Hindi); (15) Bombay (Gujarati and Marathi); (16) Punjab (Punjabi and Hindi). Delhi, Manipur, and the Andaman and Nicobar islands were the three territories to be directly administered by the Central Government.

mission emphatically declared that none of the constituent units of India would be sovereign and independent in the sense of the American colonies or Swiss Cantons before federation, and asserted that it would be unnecessary to invoke the provisions governing constitutional amendments when the Central Government wanted to make territorial adjustments.

The recommendations were partially modified in the Lok Sabha (lower house of the Indian Parliament), and a State Reorganization Act was enacted in 1955. The political map after the reorganization showed 14 states and six centrally administered territories (Fig. 21). Although the recommendations were carefully made, the report was strongly criticized in all sections of the country. *The New York Times* remarked even before the publication of the report that the commission would suggest enlarging some states, making some smaller, wiping out a few altogether, and creating some new ones.

In West Bengal, Orissa, Punjab and Bombay the criticism was particularly strong. When the SRC declined to accept the idea of a Sikh state, agitation among the Sikhs was to be anticipated and was promptly forthcoming.[21] Sardar K.M. Panikkar, one member of the SR Commission, insisted that adjustment of state boundaries on a linguistic basis would not solve any problem unless the whole matter of unity was considered from the point of view of Indian nationalism. There was no such thing as Assamese, Bengali or Kerala culture, he insisted; there was only one Indian culture which emanated from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*.[22] The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* are epics which depicted the old Indian culture and unity. Some of the Congress leaders saw the idea of linguistic states as harmful and even dangerous. One of the elder statesmen, C. Rajagopalachari, considered the whole concept a tribal idea.[23] K.M. Munshi, the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, called it "fraught with danger."

The strong areas of conflict, such as bilingual Bombay and

[21] *The Hindu* (Madras), October 11, 1955, p. 1.
[22] *The Statesman* (New Delhi and Calcutta), May 13, 1955, p. 1.
[23] *The Overseas Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), March 19, 1953. p. 4.

Punjab, and Nagaland and other hilly areas of Assam were granted separate statehood at different times (Fig. 21). The areas of bilingualism situated between two states were torn in both directions. These disputed areas, claimed by the adjoining states, were finally partitioned or given to the most legitimate claimant by one of the several boundary commissions[24] (Table 6).

A few of the states, such as Assam, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, and Jammu and Kashmir have not been materially affected by the reorganization. The people of some of the linguistic states will think—or thought—in their traditional associations. For example, it is still customary to think of Andhra State as divided into northern and southern regions. Economically, politically and educationally, the north part, the area of the Circars, is far more advanced and tends to dominate the south. Only their common language, Telugu, ties the north and the south together.

The state of Mysore has great geographical variation within it and must be prepared for regional rivalries between the agriculturally poor but industrially developed south and the agriculturally rich but industrially poor north. The Tungabhadra Dam is in Mysore State, but most of the land areas affected by this dam lie in Andhra Pradesh, where irrigation is more easily accomplished than in Mysore. The inclusion of the dam area in Mysore was strongly opposed by the Andhra people, and it is still a sore point between the two states. Punjab and Rajasthan, as well as Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, are mutually linked with the irrigation waters of their common rivers. Mysore, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil Nadu all have common interest in irrigation projects.

Several inter-state and national problems are posed by the reorganization of states on a linguistic basis instead of with regard to their geographical conformity. Linguistic states create a certain danger to the national unity, since they develop a feeling of

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[24] The various territorial adjustments were finalized by the following commissions: the States Reorganization Commission, the Punjab Boundary Commission, the Maharashtra and Gujarat Boundary Commission, the Nagaland Boundary Commission and the Mahajan Report. Proposals of the Mahajan Report are still pending, and the disputed areas have not been transferred to either Maharashtra or Mysore.

TABLE 6

THE AREAS OF CONFLICTS AFTER REORGANIZATION OF STATES ON A LINGUISTIC BASIS INCLUDING LATER CHANGES WITH THE CLAIMANT STATES

	Disputed Area	*Present State*	*Claimed by*	*Language Affiliation*	*Grounds Given by Claimant*	*Grounds for Rejection of the Claim*
1.	Vidharbha	Maharashtra	Separate State	Marathi	Historical, cultural, administrative and financial as well as political domination by Maharashtra	Linguistic homogeneity and economic well-being of both the areas
2.	Dangs	Gujarat	Maharashtra	Marathi	Linguistic affinity and transportation link	Economic necessity, water and power development, etc.
3.	17 villages of Umbergaon-Thana Taluk	Gujarat	Maharashtra	Marathi-Gujarati	Linguistic homogeneity and geographical contiguity	Economic reasons and cultural associations
4.	Other than 17 villages of Umbergaon Taluk	Maharashtra	Gujarat	Marathi	To include the whole of Taluk in Gujarat	Linguistic affinity and geographical contiguity
5.	Navapur, Nandurbar, Akkalkuwa and Taloda areas	Gujarat	Maharashtra	Marathi	Linguistic, cultural, economic and historical grounds	The area will be merged into water of Uki Dam, hence for rehabilitation and the smooth running of the project it was necessary to include the areas in Gujarat

6.	Abu road, Taluk of Banaskantha, Taluk	Rajasthan	Gujarat	Rajasthani	It was included in Bombay state at the time of reorganization of states	On linguistic, cultural, historical, administrative and economic grounds, as well as geographical contiguity, the area was included in Rajasthan
7.	Sironj subdivision of Kota (Rajasthan)	Madhya Pradesh	Rajasthan	Hindi	Historical association administrative convenience and cultural affinity	Geographical contiguity and wishes of the people
8	Sunel	Rajasthan	Madhya Pradesh	Hindi	Cultural affinity and historical bonds	Administrative convenience and economic efficiency
9.	Rajgarh and Guna district	Madhya Pradesh	Rajasthan	Hindi	Cultural affinity and historical bonds	Administrative convenience and economic efficiency
10.	Southern part of Bastar	Madhya Pradesh	Andhra	Telugu and Hindi	Economic development and linguistic affinity (wrongly pleaded for linguistic affinity)	Linguistic affinity, economic and administrative convenience
11.	Mohindargarh	Haryana	Rajasthan	Hindi	Linguistic, cultural, and economic and historical grounds	The area will be benefited with the irrigation and power project from Sutlej River project

TABLE 6—(*Continued*)

	Disputed Area	*Present State*	*Claimed by*	*Language Affiliation*	*Grounds Given by Claimant*	*Grounds for Rejection of the Claim*
12.	Loharu	Haryana	Rajasthan	Hindi	Geographical contiguity, cultural, linguistic, and administrative grounds	Historical and economic grounds
13.	Ganganagar	Rajasthan	Punjab	Hindi	Religious and communal association	Historical, economic, cultural affiliation and geographic contiguity
14.	Naraingarh, Ambala and Jagadari Taluks of Ambala district	Haryana	Punjab	Hindi	Direct transportation link with Uttra Pradesh, language spoken in Ambala tehsil was Punjabi	No ample proof of Punjabi spoken—linguistic, cultural, historical, and economic affiliationand geographical contiguity
15.	Shahbad block (Thanesar Taluk), Guhala Sub Tehsil—Tehsil Karthail both in Karnal district	Haryana	Punjab	Hindi	Agriculture developed by Punjabi people and administrative convenience	Linguistic affinity and not ample proof given by the claimants
16.	Rohi (160 villages), Nali (180 villages), Bagar (57 villages), of Sirsa Tehsil Total—397 villages	Haryana	Punjab	Hindi and Punjabi	Included in Punjabi area under Sacher Formula and people are Punjabi-speaking	Geographical contiguity, linguistic affinity and no proof for the claims

17.	Tohana Sub Tehsil, Jackal Police Station	Haryana	Punjab	Hindi	Geographical contiguity and administrative convenience	Linguistic affinity and economic associations
18.	Ratia, Nagpur and Fatehabad Kanugo Circles	Haryana	Punjab	Hindi	Linguistic affiliation, administrative convenience and irrigation and power facilities	No proof was given that the area is Punjabi-speaking. Historical and cultural affinity with Hissar
19.	Surnam Sun Tehsil of Sangrur District	Punjab	Haryana	Punjabi	Linguistic affinity	No ample evidence for Hindi as a major language spoken
20.	Fazilka Firozpur District	Punjab	Haryana	Punjabi and Hindi	Linguistic affinity and included in Hindi-speaking area in 1956	Geographical contiguity, linguistic homogeneity in north Fazilka and administrative convenience
21.	Kangra District	Himachal Pradesh	Punjab	Punjabi and Hindi	Linguistic affinity, and geographical contiguity for canal system and power complexity	Geographical contiguity and linguistic affinity. Topographically the area is part of Himachal Pradesh
22.	Una Tehsil Hoshiarpur District	Punjab	Himachal Pradesh	Hindi	Water and power complexities, shrine Anandpur Saheb and Bhakra Dam Project	Linguistic affinity, topography, dress, diet, customs, manners, habits, traditions, festivals, rituals are with Himachal Pradesh

TABLE 6—(*Continued*)

	Disputed Area	*Present State*	*Claimed by*	*Language Affiliation*	*Grounds Given by Claimant*	*Grounds for Rejection of the Claim*
23.	Nalagarh, Patiala, Tehsil	Himachal Pradesh	Punjab	Hindi	It was part of PEPSU which was included in Punjab	Topographically, culturally, economically it has been part of Himachal Pradesh and transportation routes are with Himachal Pradesh
24.	Pathankot Tehsil	Punjab	Himachal Pradesh	Hindi and Punjabi	Geographical contiguity	Linguistic, cultural and economic association was with Punjab and communicational link and trade routes with Jammu and Kashmir is through Pathankot Tehsil. It has a direct link with Himachal Pradesh. Due to strategic reasons it was included in Punjab. Northeast part was included in Himachal Pradesh due to geographical contiguity and cultural affinity

25.	Tehsil Gurdaspur, Garhshanker, Hoshiarpur and Dashya	Punjab	Himachal Pradesh	Punjabi	Ethnically it was a part of Himachal Pradesh as Dogra people were living there	Linguistic affinity with Punjab and the majority of the population was Punjabi instead of Dogras
26.	Kharar and Chandigarh	Centrally administered area	Haryana and Punjab	Hindi and Punjabi	Both states extended their claims to the territory for linguistic, cultural and economic reasons. The territory is still being claimed by both states.	
27.	Kasaragod Taluk of South Kanara District	Kerala	Mysore	Malayalam	Script Kannada, Trade, education, business dealing with Mysore	Linguistic affinity and geographical contiguity. Mahajan Report, 1968, has recommended this area to Mysore on the grounds given by Mysore but Kerala has protested strongly. The report has not been implemented as yet.
28.	Agastheeswaram, Thovala, Kalkulam, Vilacancode, and Shenkotta Taluks	Madras	Kerala	Tamil	Geographical contiguity and economic viability	Linguistic affinity, wishes of the people, administrative and political stability
29.	Devikulam, Peermede, Neyyatlinkara, and Kollegal Taluks	Kerala	Madras	Tamil and Malayalam	Linguistic affinity	Headwater of river water (Periyar river), forest economy, rice-producing areas, hydroelectric plants, rubber estates and for viability of Kerala

TABLE 6—(*Continued*)

	Disputed Area	*Present State*	*Claimed by*	*Language Affiliation*	*Grounds Given by Claimant*	*Grounds for Rejection of the Claim*
30.	Bellary District along the course of Tungabhadra	Mysore	Andhra Pradesh	Telugu	Tungabhadra Project, economic link and administrative convenience	SRC gave to Andhra Pradesh but the dispute continued and the area was transferred to Mysore by a one-man commission and Andhra followed the verdict, although economically it was a great loss to Andhra
31.	814 villages, Belgaum city Karwar and Napani	Mysore	Maharashtra	Marathi	Because they are part of Mysore	Mahajan report has given 264 villages, Napani and Karwar to Maharashtra
32.	Sholapur city and Taluk (Jath Taluk, the Akkalkot and South Sholapur Taluk, and 247 villages)	Maharashtra	Mysore	Bilingual	Cultural affinity, historical association, administrative convenience	Not granted to Mysore

NOTE : Belgaum was not transferred to Maharashtra even though the majority of the people speak Marathi language. The Mahajan Report was in favour of Mysore. M.C. Mahajan himself was against the formation of linguistic states, hence he was prejudiced against Maharashtra. If whole claim is met, 93% of Mysore's forest wealth will be transferred to Maharashtra. The report has not been implemented. Items 31 and 32 are not officially implemented.

33.	Jharkhand State in Southern Bihar, Santhal Pargana, and Chota Nagpur Div.	Bihar	New State of Jharkhand	Tribal and Hindi	Home of tribal people	Sugar factories, industrial zones, coal bearing areas, Bihar's biggest thermal power station. Separate state will upset the balance between agriculture and industry.
34.	Seraikella and Kharsawan	Bihar	Orissa	Oriya	Linguistic affinity	Historical association and administrative convenience, geographical contiguity and communicational advantages
35.	Purnea and Santhal Pargana	Bihar	West Bengal	Bilingual	Historical and linguistic affinity, geographical contiguity transportation link	Administrative convenience, linguistic affinity, economic viability, Rajmahal coal field

NOTE : The SRC gave the area to West Bengal but the Parliament has transferred to Bihar on the grounds that the Rajmahal coal fields and water works for Tata Iron and Steel Factory should not be placed beyond the territory (Bihar).

36.	Purulia subdivision	West Bengal	Bihar	Bengali	Geographical contiguity and linguistic affinity (wrongly interpreted)	Linguistic affinity, flood control, irrigation projects and geographical contiguity

TABLE 6—(*Continued*)

	Disputed Area	*Present State*	*Claimed by*	*Language Affiliation*	*Grounds Given by Claimant*	*Grounds for Rejection of the Claim*
37.	Chandigarh City	Punjab	Haryana	Hindi and Punjabi	Linguistic, cultural and economic reasons	The city was awarded to Punjab by the Prime Minister's decision. Haryana, however, was granted Rs. 100,000,000 as loan repayable and Rs. 100,000,000 as a gift to build a new capital at a suitable site chosen by its leaders.
38.	Fazilka and Abohar Tehsils	Haryana	Punjab	Hindi	Geographical contiguity, language and economic reasons	Awarded to Haryana by the Prime Minister due to cultural, linguistic and developmental reasons.

regionalism, hinder economic co-operation between the states, and disturb the peaceful environment of the nation.

The feeling of national unity has been especially weakened by the emphasis which the reorganization has placed on local culture, language and history. A recent example of such localism may be seen in the decision of the Madras Government to change the names of transport vehicles, government buildings and residences of ministers, and to conduct the official state correspondence in Tamil. The Chief Minister has urged the people to give their new-born babies Tamil names. The name of the state was changed from Madras to Tamil Nadu. Similar tendencies have been apparent among many different linguistic units in India since the reorganization. The developing regional rivalries will certainly weaken the overall national unity.

The formation of linguistic states has retarded much planned economic development, because local sentiment within a state often resents the utilization of that state's resources for the benefit of other states. Inter-state employment possibilities, then, other than perhaps in the top civil services, are decreasing as states are reorganized on linguistic principles. Efficient workers from one state cannot be employed in an adjacent one when they are deficient in the language requirements of that state. The creation of linguistic states has created strong regional feelings among the people. In addition to the emotional regionalism, there are disputed border areas which hinder the peaceful co-existence of adjacent states. The distribution of water and power has been made more difficult by the reorganization of states, and several disputes concerning production and distribution have arisen in the years since reorganization.

Regionalism, with its love of regional language, is certainly not the sole cause of border issues between the Indian states. Boundary commissions did their best to make impartial judgments, but these judgments were inevitably influenced at times by considerations of economic efficiency and administrative convenience, and were unpopular with certain groups. While the decision to divide India on a linguistic basis is considered by the writer to have been an unfortunate one, the decision now seems irrevocable, and the Indian nation will have to live with it. A better division of the country might have been that devised by the All-India Manufacturers' Organization on the basis of geo-economics. That organization suggested that the country should be re-divided into nine states, each with an area of approximately 259,000 square kilometres and a population of 55,000,000. Under this plan the states could have been formed either from natural regions or by putting together contiguous parts of different regions, taking into account economic, strategic and geographic factors.[25] Political and linguistic factors would have been given secondary consideration in such a scheme. After the integration of Indian states into the Indian Union and the subsequent re-organization of the states, a major remaining sore point was Kashmir, a problem area which has attracted world attention since August 15, 1947. In a general study of the political geography of India, Kashmir must be given a separate and special treatment.

THE KASHMIR PROBLEM

Jammu and Kashmir,[26] prior to independence, was the largest of all the Indian states. In size, it very nearly approached the aggregate area of England, Wales and Scotland[27] (Fig. 22). Its strategic location was similar to that of Switzerland in relation to Italian, French and German interests. Geographical location has always been a crucial factor in its strategic and political importance.[28] Its proximity to the Soviet Union and China makes the question of Kashmir's security a critical one.

The state faced basic economic problems at the time of accession to India, such as low income, poverty, disease and misery. Agriculture had always been the mainstay of the overwhelming

[25] *The Times of India* (Bombay), December 25, 1966, p. 7.

[26] Jammu and Kashmir will be referred to as Kashmir in the rest of the text.

[27] Walter Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir* (London: Oxford University Press, 1895), p. 285.

[28] Sisir Gupta, *Kashmir: A Study in India-Pakistan Relations* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1966), p. 27.

majority of the population. The mineral resources are not important from the point of view of commercial exploitation, although coal, iron ore, gypsum and limestone are available. Kashmir's major imports of cotton textile, sugar, machinery and household articles were supplied by India. Kashmiri goods, for example, dried fruits, vegetables and products of cottage industries were widespread over British India. Tourism has long been important in Kashmir's economy and a major part of the visitors were from India rather than from Pakistan. It should be noted that Kashmir has traditionally been an enormous economic liability to India.[29]

From a cultural point of view, there is no other state at present in India which has so much racial heterogeneity as Kashmir. It is a multi-racial, multi-lingual and multi-religious state. Among the 5,000,000 people of the state, approximately three-fourths are Muslims, and less than one-quarter are Hindus. Kashmiri Muslims are principally *Sunni*, while there is a *Shia* majority in Pakistan.

The Gulab Singh's (first Dogra Ruler) dominion produced a strange union of Hindus, Pathans, Sikhs, Tibetans, Buddhists and Muslims in a state which had no unifying basis in cultural tradition or political history. The older Kashmiris suffered terribly at the hands of the invaders, particularly those from the west and southwest, and they developed an attitude of distrust towards all outsiders. Such distrust has been demonstrated in the modern struggle for the rights of the Kashmiris as a nationality.

The modern political problem of Kashmir starts with the lapse of the paramount power of the British in India. On June 3, 1946, a Cabinet Mission Memorandum was produced which read as follows :

> His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise powers of paramountcy. This means that the rights of the States which flow from their relationship to the Crown will no

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[29] Josef Korbel, *Danger in Kashmir* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 319.

> longer exist and that all rights surrendered by the states to the paramount power will return to the states.[30]

It was also provided that every princely state had the option of acceding either to India or Pakistan. The final decision about the accession was left to the determination of the ruler of each state. It is significant to note that there was no provision in the memorandum for consulting the people of the princely state as to their preference. Nor was the accession conditional. The question of religion did not come into play at all.

Unlike most of the princely rulers, who had either acceded to India or Pakistan before August 15, 1947, the Ruler of Kashmir did not make up his mind. Neither India nor Pakistan was happy with his indecision. In this context Lord Mountbatten had carried the Indian leaders' assurance to the Maharaja that even accession to Pakistan would be more welcome than a declaration of independence. The Maharaja thought that any decision to accede to one dominion or the other might at this stage start off a chain of events which would disturb the peace of the state. He wanted to avoid the bloodshed which was taking place both in India and Pakistan after partition. Nevertheless, the Maharaja concluded a standstill agreement with Pakistan by the exchange of telegrams on August 12 and 16, 1947.[31] Before a standstill agreement with India could be concluded, however, Pakistan cut off communications and stopped the supply of essential commodities (grains, cloth, kerosene, salt and sugar) in order to coerce Kashmir. On October 22, 1947, fully armed tribesmen from northwest Pakistan and other Pakistani nationals entered Kashmir in a full-scale invasion to march towards the capital of the state, occupy it, and decide the fate of Kashmir with the sword.[32] The tribesmen resorted to indiscriminate slaughter of Muslims and Hindus.[33] The arson, loot, pillage, plunder and violence committed by invading tribesmen in various towns and villages, including Mirpur, Poonch, Bhimbhar, Kotly, Jhanger, Naushera, Baramula, Badnipore, Hardwars, Gulmarg and Badgaum was beyond description (Fig. 22). Several noted journalists of the world (*News Chronicle*, London; *Observer*, London; *New Statesman*, London; and *The New York Times*, New York) have observed that there was not only strong support for the invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan, but recruitment was also going on inside Pakistan itself. Unable to prevent the raiders from committing large-scale killing, looting and arson, the ruler requested that the State of Jammu and Kashmir should be allowed to accede to the Indian Union.[34] The instrument of accession of Kashmir was signed by the Maharaja Hari Singh on October 26, 1947, and the accession was accepted by the Governor-General of India on October 27, 1947. Accession thus became legally and constitutionally complete. The Maharaja wrote to Lord Mountbatten;

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[30] *Cabinet Mission Memorandum, Command Paper* 6855, May 12, 1946.

[31] An agreement in regard to communication and supply arrangements which had always been interlinked with British India.

[32] Lord Birdwood, *India and Pakistan: A Continent Decides* (New York: Frederick M. Praeger, 1954), p. 77.

[33] Sisir Gupta *op. cit*, p. 110.

> ... with the conditions obtaining at present in my State and the great emergency of the situation as it exists, I have no option but to ask for help from the Indian Dominion. Naturally, they cannot send the help asked for by me without my State acceding to the Dominion of India. I have accordingly decided to do so, and I attach the instrument of accession for acceptance by your Government. The other alternative is to leave my State and the people to freebooters. On this basis no civilized government can exist or be maintained. This alternative I will never allow to happen so long as I am the ruler of the State and I have life to defend my country.[35]

The Maharaja also informed Lord Mountbatten of his decision to appoint Sheikh Abdullah to form an interim government of Kashmir. Sheikh Abdullah was then a popular leader of the people and the leader of the largest party, the "Jammu and Kashmir National Conference". With the acceptance of accession, Mountbatten wrote on October 27, 1947:

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[34] M. C. Chagla, *Kashmir, 1947-65* (New Delhi: Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, 1965), p. 18.

[35] Lord Birdwood, *Two Nations and Kashmir* (London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1956), p. 214.

> In the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute, the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my government's wish that as soon as law and order have been restored in Kashmir and its soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the people.[36]

The letter also stated that Indian troops were being sent to Kashmir to help the state forces repel the invasion. It is significant that the Maharaja's request for accession was confirmed by the major political organization of the people of Kashmir whose head was Sheikh Abdullah. Sheikh Abdullah said in the Security Council, "... under those circumstances, both the Maharaja and the people of Kashmir requested the Government of India to accept our accession."[37] Contrary to India's offer to help, the Government of Pakistan had exerted pressure on the Kashmir ruler in two ways, by coercing the state economically through holding back certain essential supplies, and by instigating and encouraging communal riots in the state. The sole purpose was to demoralize the administration and terrorize the Maharaja into acceding to Pakistan.

There are several important aspects about Kashmir with which the writer wishes to deal individually. Such matters as the validity of accession, reactions of the Security Council to the issue, the offer of a plebiscite, new aggression and the future of the state are vital to an understanding of the total Kashmir question.

Since the offer of accession was made in a constitutionally valid manner, and was accepted in a constitutionally valid manner, the accession was complete and valid. Dr M.C. Mahajan states that the Governor-General had the power to accept or reject the offer, but he had no power to ignore the question or to attach conditions to it.[38] The relevant constitutional provisions did not authorize a conditional acceptance at all. Pakistan described the Maharaja's accession to India as based upon "fraud, deceit and violence," and maintained that it was totally against the wishes of his long-oppressed Muslim subjects. In fact, if Pakistan had not encouraged or instigated the invasion of Kashmir by the raiders, perhaps the Maharaja would have continued to consider the idea of an independent state. In any case, in February, 1954, a Kashmiri Constituent Assembly, which was the only body elected by the people, duly ratified on behalf of all the people of Kashmir the act of accession with India that had been entered into by the Maharaja nearly seven years before.[39] The people of Kashmir had freely expressed themselves on the issue of accession. After the Government of India sent an army to defend Kashmir, a complaint was lodged against Pakistan's aggression in the Security Council on January 1, 1948.

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[36] *White Paper on Jammu and Kashmir* (New Delhi: Publication Division, Government of India, 1948), pp. 47-48.

[37] United Nations, Security Council 241 Meeting, 1948, *Sheikh Abdullah's Speech on Kashmir*, S.C.O.R. 241 Meeting, 1948.

The Indian leaders were obviously alarmed by the way in which their case had been received in the Security Council. The state which had brought the original complaint to the United Nations, convinced of the righteousness of its own position, was placed on the defensive. The Council had denied the Indian claim that it alone had a legitimate complaint. It persisted in treating India and Pakistan both as aggrieved parties, when one of them denied that it was a party at all. The issue of Pakistan's aggression, which was foremost in the Indian charge, was ignored. The issue of accession, which Pakistan brought up incidentally, and which the Security Council was not competent to consider was treated as basic.[40] The active support which the Anglo-American powers gave to proposals such as the plebiscite, the withdrawal

[38] M.C. Mahajan, *Accession of Kashmir to India: The Inside Story* (Sholapur: Institute of Public Administration, 1950), p. 2.

[39] Lawrence Scheinman and David Wilkinson, *International Law and Political Crisis: An Analytical Casebook* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1968), p. 67.

[40] B.L. Sharma, *The Kashmir Story* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1967), p. 47.

of Indian forces, and the substitution of the lawful government of Kashmir by a neutral administration was later cited by Zafrulla Khan, the first Foreign Minister of Pakistan, and was to be quoted in succeeding years by his successors in various debates.[41]

While India had at first agreed to a plebiscite, it later refused to hold one. Why? Under the United Nations Councils for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) of January 5, 1949, Pakistan was required to withdraw its troops, regular or irregular, from Kashmir. Pakistan's failure to withdraw was directly responsible for making the plebiscite impossible. Merely by withdrawing troops from the state, Pakistan could have had a prompt and legal plebiscite. The possibility of a plebiscite seems to have been envisaged at first, because up to that time no elections had been held in Kashmir. The whole picture changed after Kashmir had four general elections (two of them under the Election Commissioner of India) with adult franchise. In each of these four elections, the Jammu and Kashmir National Conference, a party which is now called the Pradesh Congress Party of Jammu and Kashmir, was returned to power. In the recent Panchayat poll of August, 1969, the Congress Party has captured 61.5 per cent of the Panchayat seats in the State, while the Plebiscite Front has secured only 27.7 per cent seats. The Congress Party strongly supports Kashmir's integration with India.

The greatest single objection to a plebiscite was that it would almost certainly have revived communal bitterness, stirred open rivalry and conflict between India and Pakistan, and negated the very objective of India-Pakistan amity, the principle of peaceful co-existence. India, fearful of unleashing a tide of irrational religious fanaticism and bigotry, determined to avoid this danger. More than 60,000,000 minority people in India and Pakistan depended to a large extent on the elimination of religious slogans and divisive concepts from politics. As Mohammed Carrim Chagla explained in the Security Council, the people who would really suffer were not the politicians in Pakistan who were preaching a holy war but, rather, millions of innocent people. The

[41] Ibid.

major blame, then, was in Pakistan, where the press and radio were being allowed to spread religious hatred thinly disguised as patriotic propaganda.[42] India had no intention of reviving the old memory of partition and its consequences.

Technologically, it probably was not possible to organize and implement a plebiscite in Kashmir. Korbel[43] noted that the mere technicalities of carrying out the plebiscite seemed beyond the scope of reality. *The Economist* (London) also wrote that there was talk of a popular referendum in Kashmir to decide the issue but, in view of the vast and mountainous territory, it was felt that a referendum would have required hundreds of external observers if it were to have any validity. Such observations, obviously, would be hard to arrange.[44] Could even a United Nations plebiscite administrator prevent communal massacres and fresh fighting after a plebiscite? Pakistan's policies and actions—its hate India campaign—confirmed the Indian fear that any plebiscite in Kashmir would have been fought only on the basis of the religious affinity between Kashmiri Muslims and Pakistani Muslims. Most certainly it would not have been fought on the more basic social and political issues which faced the Kashmiris[45]

In recent years, the situation concerning plebiscite has materially changed, due to the agreement between Pakistan and Communist China on the boundary of Kashmir with Sinkiang. In 1963, China and Pakistan agreed to a boundary along the main Indus-Tarim watershed in the Karakoram which corresponded very closely to the line proposed by the British in 1899.[46] This is perhaps unfortunate, since the main Chinese interests in the region, the road from Sinkiang to Tibet across the Aksai Chin Plateau, lies outside the 1899 line. Pakistan has ceded more than

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[42] Edmond Taylor, "Tortured Kashmir I: The Smoke and the Fire," *The Reporter*, XXXIII, No. 8 (November 4, 1965), p. 27.

[43] Dr Josef Korbel served as a member of the United Nations Commission on India and Pakistan (UNCIP).

[44] *The Economist* (London), November 1, 1947, p. 1.

[45] Sisir Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 473.

[46] Alastair Lamb, *Asian Frontiers: Studies in a Continuing Problem* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 107.

5,310 square kilometres of territory, over which she had no claim legally and internationally, in order to appease expansionist China. The legal area of Pakistan has no common border with China.

Kashmir, except for the part occupied by Pakistan, has been completely integrated with India. All of the important features of the Constitution of India are equally applicable in respect of Kashmir. The features of integration include the application of fundamental rights to Kashmiris, the extension of jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the Election Commissioner of India (January 26, 1960), the transfer of services to the Union List, the extension of audit authority to the Auditor-General of India, the approval by the planning commission of state development programmes, financial allocations from the central authorities, the abolition of customs barriers, the integration of services and the association of the state with the Northern Zonal Council. The status of the Prime Minister of Kashmir has been changed to that of Chief Minister and Sadar-i-Riyasat (previously head of the State) as Governor, as is the practice in other states of India. The President of India now can proclaim presidential rule in the state if the constitutional machinery fails, under Article 356 of the Constitution of India. Article 357 providing for delegating powers by the President of India to the State Legislature to make laws appropriate for the state, has also been extended to the State of Kashmir. All these constitutional changes were sanctioned by the Government of Kashmir by a majority of vote in the assembly and were subsequently approved by the Parliament of the Indian Union.

On October 17, 1950, the Big Landed Estates Abolition Act 2007 was enacted, and under it more than 9.2 hectares was transferred from large landlords to the actual tillers of the soil. It has been calculated by one economic analyst that in the year 1959-60 alone a total of Rs. 121,100,100 was transferred to Kashmir state funds from the central authorities. The biggest source of revenue for Kashmir is grants-in-aid from the Government of India. The per capita aid, about Rs. 52.00 per year compares favourably with the average of nearly Rs. 9.00 per year for other states. The percentage of grants-in-aid from central authorities is also highest for Kashmir (Table 7).

TABLE 7

PERCENTAGE SHARE OF THE SOURCES OF REVENUE*

Revenue Items	*All States*	*Kashmir*
Tax Revenue from the Centre	16	14
State's Own Resources	44	9
Grants-in-aid from the Centre	18	40
Non-Tax Revenue	21	35
Miscellaneous	1	2
Total	100	100

*"Kashmir: Merry Living on Grants," *Economic and Political Weekly*, III, No. 22 (June 1, 1968), 832.

Military aid to Pakistan by the United States under a 1954 agreement also changed the situation of a possible plebiscite. The United States military aid served to exacerbate the long strained relations between India and Pakistan, and in the 1960's India was to see American arms turned against her. Pakistan used Patton tanks, and F-86 and F-104 jet fighters against India in 1965 without provoking either indignation or condemnation from the United States Government.

It is naive for any country to suggest that after the passage of more than 22 years and after several significant events have radically altered the situation, India should still agree to hold a plebiscite. A plebiscite in Kashmir might lead to demands for plebiscites in other areas, such as Nagaland, Tamil Nadu and Kerala—areas where India is totally unwilling to consider a plebiscite.

A plebiscite can be operative in international relations only when one is dealing with a nation as a whole. The principle of self-determination cannot and must not be applied so as to lead to the fragmentation of a country or its people.[47] There are several examples of new African and Asian nations where plebiscites have not been permitted to break up the state, i.e. in the Katanga revolt against the Leopoldville Government, in the struggle of the Ashanti tribes against Accra, of the Kurds against the Iraqis, of the Pakhtoons against the Pakistanis, of the Tamils against the Sinhalese, of the Karens against the Burmese, of the Sumatrans against the Javanese, and of the Mongols against the Hans. Permitting accession to sovereignty of any sub-national group in the name of the right of self-determination would inflict a fatal blow to the state concerned and frustrate the development of an integrated and unified nation.[48]

The possibility of a plebiscite in Kashmir was made even more unlikely with the new aggression launched by Pakistan in April, 1965, in Kashmir. The immediate objective of the attacks according to documents captured from prisoners and soldiers of Pakistan and supported by statements by them, was to destroy bridges, police stations, petrol pumps and other important installations, and also to cut roads. The strength of the Pakistani troops who infiltrated across the cease-fire line in civilian disguise was estimated to be about 5,000. Pakistan evidently contemplated that the state of Kashmir would rise against the oppression of Muslims by India, but on September 4, 1965, the United Nations Secretary-General's report stated:

> General Nimmo has indicated to me that the series of violations that began on August 5, were to a considerable extent ...in the form of armed men, generally not in uniform, crossing the CFL from the Pakistan side for the purpose of armed action on the Indian side.[49]

[47] United Nations, Security Council 1088 Meeting, 1964, *Mohammed Carrim Chagla's Speech on Kashmir*, Security Council Official Report, February 5, 1964.

[48] Sisir Gupta, *op. cit.*, p. 458.

[49] *Kashmir : Text of Speech by Shri C.S. Jha, in the Security Council on September* 6, 1965 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1965), p. 5.

Pakistani soldiers infiltrated at several points along the 765 kilometre long cease-fire line (Fig. 22). In the same manner, Pakistan denied the earlier report of infiltration when the regular Pakistani army invaded the state on May 8, 1948, but later, the infiltration was admitted by the Pakistani authorities themselves to the United Nations Council for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) team.

Due to the 1965 war, the attitude of the Security Council members towards a plebiscite in Kashmir has considerably changed. The monopoly of support which Pakistan had enjoyed for so long in the Security Council was suddenly broken. For the first time in the history of the Security Council deliberations, the Council voted unanimously for a cease-fire to be adopted by both parties in October, 1965, on the Kashmir issue. Furthermore, Mr Stewart, the British Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, who had so strongly supported Pakistan's case, now realized the actual situation and made it clear that if Pakistan again raised the Kashmir issue in the United Nations, Britain's position would be that she and other members of the Security Council could do no more than urge the two parties concerned to reach agreement between themselves.[50]

Contrary to its first inclination to refuse to hold a plebiscite, Pakistan now strongly supports a plebiscite. Jinnah did not like the plebiscite idea at all, because he was convinced that its results would be determined by Sheikh Abdullah who pleaded for Hindu-Muslim unity and discarded the two-nation theory. Pakistan's plea throughout the discussion was that Muslims are in majority in Kashmir, and that they should be permitted to join their kith and kin.

Pakistan's arguments for the inclusion of Kashmir in Pakistan are: (1) The control of Kashmir would provide security for Pakistan. As Liaquat Ali Khan once expressed it, "Kashmir is . . .like a cap on the head of Pakistan. If I allow India to have this cap on our head, then I am always at the mercy of India. Then the sacrifices of millions will have been in vain."[51]

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[50] "Mr Stewart, Kashmir and Rhodesia," *India and Foreign Review*, VI, No. 5 (December 15, 1968), pp. 6-7.

[51] David E. Lilienthal, "Another Korea in the Making?" *Collier's*, CXXVIII, No. 5 (August 4, 1951), p. 57.

(2) Kashmir's easy transportation links with Pakistan provide a natural connection between the two areas. Jammu has long been connected with Sialkot in West Pakistan by rail, and Kashmir is linked by an all-weather road to Rawalpindi. Prior to 1947 there was no easy land connection between New Delhi and Srinagar. Since independence, however, India's transportation system has been linked with Kashmir, and they are now well connected by rail and all-weather road. India has constructed the Banihal Cart Road (using the tunnel rather than the Banihal Pass) and the Indian Military Road to eliminate the communicational disadvantages. Kashmir Valley is also connected with regular air flights from various large cities of India. (3) The Indus, Jhelum and Chenab rivers all flow through Kashmir on their way to Pakistan. (4) In the absence of an adequate coal supply, West Pakistan needs to develop hydroelectric power from these rivers. (5) The agricultural prosperity of West Pakistan is entirely dependent upon the river and canal system which serves an area of about 19,000,000 acres.[52] As noted in Chapter VII, however, this problem was largely solved through the Indus Water Treaty signed in 1960 with the active assistance of the World Bank. (6) Muslims are in a majority in Kashmir, and Pakistan has pressed hard to get agreement on a plebiscite. For a brief period after partition, India was willing to hold a plebiscite, but has long since rejected this approach to resolution of the Kashmir problem. The Indian government must consider not only the 5,000,000 Muslims of Kashmir, but also the 60,000,000 other Muslims in India. The acceptance of this minority by the majority of the Indian population is tied up with the solution of Kashmir. The Muslims of India are aware of their equality in civil rights, the great majority of them do not want to jeopardise these rights. The state administration of Indian Kashmir has largely been in the hands of Muslims since the partition. At present the Chief Minister and most of the ministers are Muslims. In the 1965 conflict with Pakistan, the Kashmiri Muslims wholeheartedly supported India.

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[52] Latif Ahmed Sherwani, *India, China and Pakistan* (Karachi: Council for Pakistani Studies, 1967), p. 26.

A durable peace on the Indian subcontinent depends upon a reasonable solution of the Kashmir dispute. Such a solution does not seem nearer if the whole of Kashmir continues to be demanded by both India and Pakistan. Unless the attitude of both countries changes markedly, Kashmir seems likely to remain a divided area. As G.W. Choudhury puts it, "The Muslims in Pakistan have shown themselves determined never to accept a state of affairs in which Kashmir, with Muslims composing 80 per cent of its population, would be governed by Hindus from Delhi."[53] He goes on to assert that, "no government in Pakistan, however powerful it may be, can survive if it neglects or tries to evade the issue of Kashmir."[54] The same rigidity of attitude persists in India; so a peaceful permanent solution does not seem to be in sight. Both nations will have to give up some of their strong feeling and modify their positions if there is to be a solution which both nations can consider honourable. After a lapse of 22 years, most of the Pakistani grievances have no validity. In the writer's opinion, the problem had been solved to the reasonable satisfaction of Kashmiris, Indians and Pakistanis.

Presumptive evidence suggests the following course of events for the future. India has made considerable progress in Kashmir in respect of agrarian reform and constitutional advancement. Improved communications, better irrigation facilities, increased availability of power and a programme of industrialization have brought new hopes to the Kashmiri people. Political equality has been established, and the feudal system has been abolished. The progress is continuous and irreversible. Such a programme of progress has not been undertaken by Pakistan in its occupied territory.

In addition, the cease-fire line is a kind of linguistic and cultural watershed. None of the languages spoken to the north of the cease-fire line is spoken in Ladakh, the Kashmir Valley and Jammu. At least two religions, Buddhism and Hinduism, do not exist in Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

[53] G.W. Choudhury, *Pakistan's Relations with India, 1947-66*, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 91.

[54] Ibid.

Pakistan's recent collusion with China must also be considered. On September 16, 1965, China's ultimatum to India, at a time when India was defending its borders from Pakistani invasion, proves this active collusion. Moreover, Marshal Chen Yi in February, 1964, remarked that Pakistan and China would continue to be friends "even after you get Kashmir and we get Taiwan."[55] In the opinion of the writer, no part of India is negotiable, and no government in India can negotiate any part of Kashmir. Kashmir is legally and constitutionally an integral part of the Indian Union. The Muslims of India, along with the rest of their countrymen, wholeheartedly approve and support this stand and would, if the occasion arose, be foremost in defending India's sovereignty and honour.[56]

In one sense, the Kashmir problem is simply the result of other conflicts between India and Pakistan. Even if the Kashmir problem were solved, many of those basic conflicts would continue. There is obviously an ideological difference between the two nations. The secular nature of India permits every one equal rights, irrespective of race, colour, religion, culture, creed, language and economic status. On the other hand, Pakistan as a theocratic state includes in its constitution the provision that only a Muslim can be the head of the State; the state itself is known as the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan." All minority groups in such a theocratic state are second-class citizens. In addition, the politico-ideological difference between two nations is another point to be considered.

In the present circumstances, keeping Kashmir within India, more than ever before, appears to be the only way of demonstrating India's ability to guard its frontiers. The continuance of India as a stable, strong and unified state is of prime importance in meeting the political objectives. During the years of separation, the two parts of Kashmir have developed peaceful and workable political, economic and cultural links with India and Pakistan respectively.

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[55] *Pakistan Times* (Lahore), May 5, 1964.

[56] *Kashmir and Indian Muslims* (Lucknow: Rajkamal Prakashan Private Ltd., 1958).

Concern for Kashmir is vital to India, not only if it is to recover the territory which China has unlawfully occupied, but also if it is to resist possible future aggression by China. India might well forget its claim to that portion of Kashmir which is currently held by Pakistan, and Pakistan should forget its old case that Kashmir ought to accede to Pakistan. A final acceptance of the *status quo* would enable both countries to revise their military budgets downward. The reopening of Kashmir's normal trade relations with Pakistan would not seriously affect India's economy, and it would certainly profit Pakistan as well as Kashmir.[57]

Sheikh Abdullah has been freed, and he is now travelling in the Valley. His attitude has changed, and he seems only to wish for healthy relations between India and Pakistan. Sheikh Abdullah, the outstanding leader of Kashmir, said in summer 1968, "It is nonsense to say that I want Kashmir to be a part of Pakistan, it is nonsense to say that I want an independent Kashmir."[58] A same type of attitude is expressed by his colleagues including Mirza Afzal Beg and other Plebiscite Front leaders. With the passage of time the attitudes of the leaders have changed considerably. Currently, Sheikh Abdulah is again forbidden to enter Kashmir because his entry may be dangerous to the security of India.

NORTHEAST AND ASSAM AREA

Besides Kashmir, another troubled region in the Indian Union is the Northeast and Assam. Before independence these areas were little known provinces. At best, they were associated with oil and tea which the British exploited for their own interest; at worst, they were synonymous with inaccessible jungles, wild beasts, head-hunting tribes, floods, earthquakes, insects and diseases.

To modern India, however, the region is very important for a number of reasons. This northeastern portion of the country, including Assam with its hill districts, as well as Nagaland, Manipur, and Tripura, borders China, Pakistan, Bhutan and Burma. With its long frontier, extending over 4,827 kilometres, the entire region occupies an extremely strategic position. Unfortunately, alone with its strategic importance, elements of dissatisfaction harmful to the integrity of the union are omnipresent. The legacy of discontent can largely be attributed to British machinations looking towards the possible establishment of a Crown Colony.

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[57] Robert C. Mayfield, "A Geographical Study of the Kashmir Issue," *The Geographical Review*, XLV, No. 2 (April, 1955), p. 195.

[58] J.J. Singh, "Panchayat Poll in Kashmir," *The Overseas Hindustan Times*, XX, No. 40 (October 4, 1969), 10.

Isolation compounded by linguistic and political gulfs existing between the Assamese-Bengali groups of the Brahmaputra Valley and the tribes in the adjoining hills contributes to a separatist feeling. The region is basically a tribal or depressed-class state.[59] The caste Hindus have traditionally dominated the politics of Assam State, and tribal people have deemed it proper to dissociate from Assam in their desire to gain power.

During the last 70 or 80 years many foreign Christian missionaries have been working in Northeast India. In recent years some pseudo-missionaries, in reality secret agents for foreign countries, have begun to operate in these areas. In addition to educating the Nagas and the other tribal people, these agents have also been encouraging rebellion against the Indian Government. Some of the rebels (Nagas, Mizos and others) are being trained in China and East Pakistan. The challenge of China and Pakistan is not merely, or perhaps even primarily, territorial; it is essentially ideological, social and political. It can be said in fairness that the tribesmen have enjoyed a democratic system throughout their history. The tribal system is more democratic than the elaborate socio-administrative machinery which has been introduced in the more settled areas of the country.[60] Tribal land belongs to the entire community. Justice is harsh and prompt. A sense of fair play and a complex of traditions and conventions hold the society together. The tribes pay no taxes and resist external domination.

[59] "Assam Triple Crisis," *Economic and Political Weekly*, II, No. 46 (November 25, 1967), p. 2049.

[60] S.G. Chaphekar, "Another Nagaland in the Making," *Triveni*, XXXV, No. 4 (January, 1967), p. 14.

Economically, the northeast region is not well developed by modern standards, and the inherent wealth of the region is still largely unexploited. It is rich in mineral ores, oil, unexploited farm land, immense forests, valuable wild animals and potential hydro-power.

Political consciousness has been aroused only recently among the people. The idea of a separate Hill State was first advocated by Professor Coupland in 1943. He said that the inhabitants of the tribal areas are not Indians or Burmese but are of Mongol stock.[61] When India became independent, the Indian Government was too preoccupied with even more gigantic problems created by the partition of the subcontinent to consider the hill people's grievances. The States Reorganization Commission considered and rejected various proposals for creating autonomous hill states, but it did recommend that the role of the district councils and the administrative relations between the tribal areas and the state government be re-examined.[62] The Commission decided that the formation of a separate hill state in the northeast was neither administratively feasible nor in the interests of the tribal people themselves.

Because of this decision, Naga tribesmen intensified their hostile activities and renewed their efforts to achieve independence. Roads were damaged, bridges cut, and official buildings burnt. Looting was widespread, murder was frequent, and the intimidation of government servants was commonplace. The government, however, supported by public opinion throughout the country, insisted that the creation of a sovereign Naga State was unrealistic. The result of many meetings between Naga leaders and the Parliament was to create a 16th state in the Indian Union on August 1, 1960. The Governor of Assam would also be the Governor of the new state, and the Assam High Court would continue to exercise jurisdiction in Nagaland. Dissatisfied rebels continued hostilities and forced the Indian Government into a cease-fire.

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[61] Birendra Kumar Bhattacharyya, "Separate Assam Hill State: What Does it Mean," *Economic and Political Weekly*, II, No. 9 (March 4, 1967), p. 491.

[62] Myron Weiner, *The Politics of Scarcity: Public Pressure and Political Response in India* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 46.

Since its establishment, other groups have opposed the formation of Nagaland. The Government of India has not been getting a penny from Nagaland in taxation, whereas over Rs. 80,000,000 are spent annually on civil administration alone. Since Nagaland is not likely to become economically self-sufficient, at least for a very long time, it will be a continuing financial drain on the Indian Government. Assam's Chief Minister has not been prepared to concede full-fledged statehood to the hill areas. He has felt that yielding to the demand of Naga rebels would strengthen the national disintegration forces.

Similar grievances have been raised by other tribal peoples of the northeast. A number of these hill groups have begun to believe that they can manage their own affairs.[63] The All-Party Hill Leadeı's Conference (APHLC), which has been demanding a single hill state, can claim to speak for the Garo, Khasi and Jaintia Hill tribes. In the last general election, the Conference captured all the seats in the Assam Assembly. However, the delegates have repeatedly emphasized the point that their pressure for self-determination is not looking toward separation from India, but rather towards autonomy within the Indian Union. The Mikir and North Cachar Hills seats were captured in the 1967 general elections by the Congres Party. By this vote these areas seem to have rejected the idea of a new or separate state (Fig. 23).

The Mizo National Front is waging its own campaign for separate statehood, and its rebels are being trained in East Pakistan. Mizo leaders are firm in their demand for a separate state within the Indian Union. Similar demands from other hill districts may lead to further fragmentation of the area and a still greater strain on Central resources.

The Government of India is conscious of the importance of the northeast region. Now after letting months and years slip by, the Government of India has decided to form a new sub-state. The newest state, more accurately called a "sub-state," is known as Meghalaya, a Sanskrit word meaning "abode in the clouds."[64] It consists of the Garo, Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The other hill peoples will have the option of joining Meghalaya (Fig. 23). The

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[63] Panna Lal Gupta, "Focus on North-East India: Need for a Common Perspective," *Mainstream*, V, No. 32 (April 8, 1967), 20.

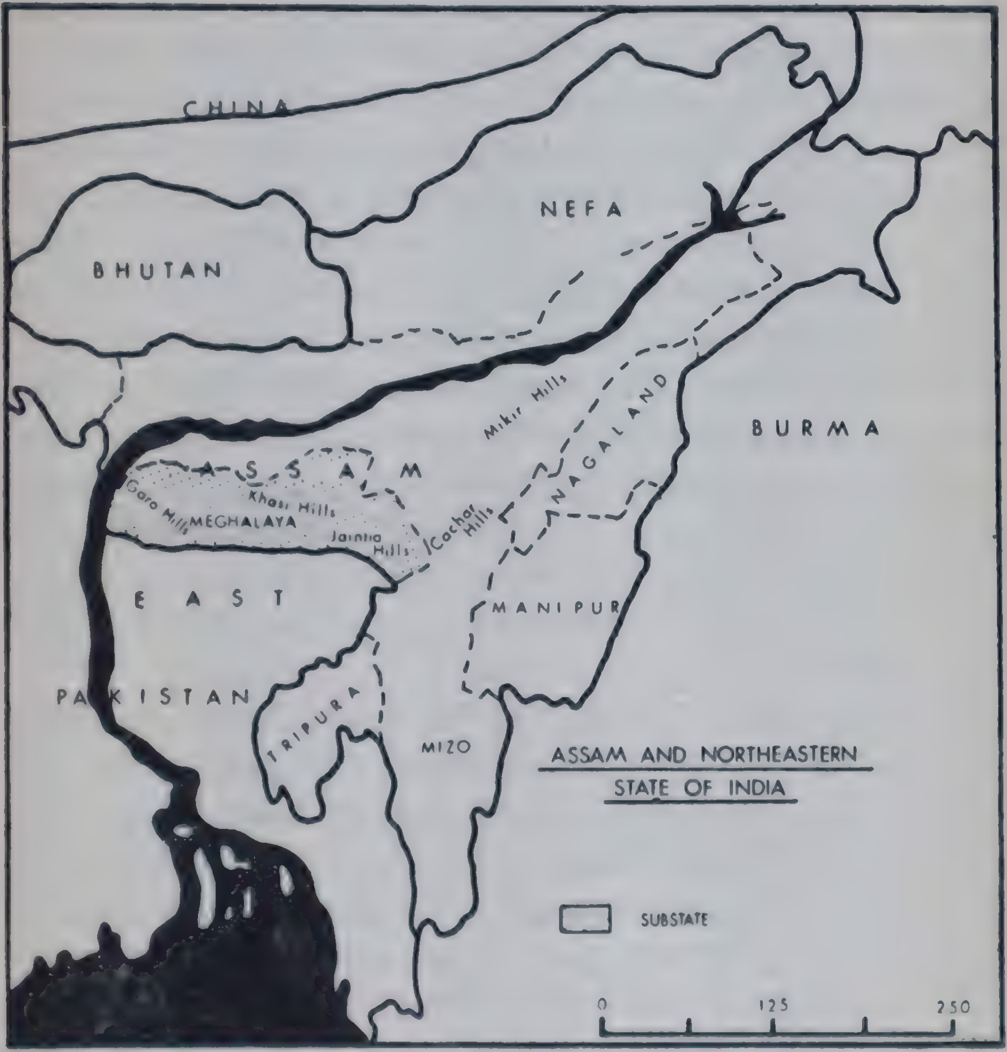
CHINA
NEFA
BHUTAN
BURMA
Mikir Hills
NAGALAND
ASSAM
Khasi Hills
Garo Hills
MEGHALAYA
Jaintia Hills
Cachar Hills
EAST PAKISTAN
MANIPUR
TRIPURA
MIZO
ASSAM AND NORTHEASTERN STATE OF INDIA
SUBSTATE
0
125
250

FIG. 23

control over law, order and security will remain with Assam. The new state can elect its own government and legislative assembly.

One result of creating a separate hill state has been to arouse a cry for more autonomous states from other tribal groups in the northeast and elsewhere. The Mizo hill state in the northeast and the Konkani-speaking area in the former Portuguese colony of Goa have both demanded autonomy. The primary reason for forming Meghalaya was the fear that the hill people in Assam would join forces with the tribal rebels in Manipur, Nagaland and the Mizo Hills. Most officials admit that considerations of defence and integrated economic development make it imperative to evolve some sort of common link between the states constituting this region, i.e. Assam, Meghalaya, North East Frontier Agency, Manipur, Tripura and United Mikir and North Cachar Hills. Since the Chinese invasion in 1962, an urgent need has been recognized to make this region self-sufficient in defence.

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[64] Earnest Weatherall, "India Fights Language Splintering," *The Christian Science Monitor*, Monday, October 7, 1968, p. 2.

The Nagas and Mizo Hill groups, however, will weaken the precarious unity they now have and create danger for the safety of the most strategic area in the Indian Union. On a sensitive border such as this, the tribes can be potentially dangerous unless they are won over through a sympathetic approach. Every person in a tribal community should feel that he is a member of the Indian national family by his own right and that the general progress and prosperity of his land can best be ensured by staying with India.

Achieving internal stability in the NEFA area is even more important than in the hill tribe districts. This area was not considered to be an integral part of the British Dominion in India, but neither was it considered to be a part of any other political entity. After 1911, the British paid somewhat more attention to this area, and by the Government of India Act of 1919 the NEFA area constitutionally became part of Assam. In August, 1947, the British surrendered their sovereign rights in the entire northeastern frontier tract of Assam to the new Indian Government.[65] The widespread migrations and disorders that accompanied the partition in India were, for the most part, avoided in NEFA. India took an active interest in the area and made administrative changes in 1950 which provided for a separate NEFA administrative system. However, the area remained constitutionally a part of Assam. With the recognition of the threat of a Communist Chinese invasion of Tibet, the NEFA administration was transferred from the foot of the hills to newly constructed quarters in the hills. The area was divided into six divisions, each having one political officer and three assistants.

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[65] Leo E. Rose and Margaret W. Fisher, *The North-East Frontier Agency of India* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1967), p. 23.

More vigilance is required because of the refugees from Tibet, Burma and Pakistan who have entered the NEFA area since 1959. The Chinese are supporting and instigating insurgent activities among NEFA's tribal people. The border areas of Tawang and Longju are claimed by both China and India. China now controls both of these areas by virtue of her sweeping victory in the 1962 invasion. Reasonably, normal life now prevails in the NEFA area, and the people seem generally faithful to India. Some of them have been converted to the Christian faith. But above all, the northeastern tribal people are permanent settlers of their respective lands and want to lead a peaceful, settled life. India should ensure peace in this region and help the people to develop economically, culturally and politically.

The importance of the northeast region is so vital from a strategic, economic and political point of view that its internal stability should continue to have top priority. The tribal people should be integrated psychologically, politically, economically and culturally into India without delay. Partial autonomy should be granted either within Assam or in some direct relationship to the Union in order to develop pride, confidence and faithfulness among the people.

FOREIGN POSSESSIONS

When India attained its independence from Britain in August, 1947, there remained on the subcontinent a few small pockets or enclaves belonging to France and Portugal. To Indians, it seemed axiomatic that independence would not be complete until these enclaves were also incorporated into India. Moreover, during the days of the freedom struggle, India's goal was independence for the entire subcontinent.[66] This meant that regardless of how long they had been there, not only the British but also the French and the Portuguese should withdraw. Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru stated in several of his speeches that, for a variety of reasons, it was natural and proper that all foreign possessions in India be united with India. Foreign dependencies, he insisted, could not be tolerated in any part of the country. These enclaves were like pimples on the face of India.

The French were realistic enough to sign an agreement with India in 1948 setting forth the principle by which the people of French India would determine their future. Chandernagor, by a municipal election in 1948, was the first of the French territories to instal a strongly pro-Indian government. The decision to join India was by a majority of 98.1 per cent of votes. France transferred Chandernagor on a *de facto* basis to the Union of India on August 14, 1949.[67] *De jure* sovereignty, of course, awaited a treaty between the two countries. The Prime Minister of India in a message to the people said that the change in Chandernagor was inevitable by reason of history, geography, culture and the spirit of the times.

Other French territories, however, were not handed over so easily. The elected municipal councils of Pondicherry, Yanaon, Karikal and Mahe, unanimously agreed to a referendum to be held on December 11, 1949, but it was postponed till February, 1950, and finally permanently postponed. Troubles arose at the time of the elections, especially in Mahe, and friction developed between India and France on the issue of transfer. The Indian position was that the municipal elections were not fair because only one party, one which was known to be pro-French, participated in the elections. Moreover, the Government of France did not permit any Indian observers to be present at the time of the municipal elections. Pondicherry was the largest of the five enclaves and had been a stronghold of French power in the assembly. Edward Goubert, who controlled 37 seats out of 39 in the assembly, supported France; France supported him by not inquiring into his business activities.[68] Finally, however, the French intervened in his business, and Goubert switched his allegiance to India and organized spontaneous demonstrations against France in every district of the territory.

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[66] R. P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in India* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 1.

[67] Russell H. Fifield, "The Future of French India," *Far Eastern Survey*, XIX, No. 6 (March 22, 1960), p. 64.

It is significant to note that, other than Chandernagor, the French territories were not landlocked (Fig. 18). Due to their coastal location, the French territories had long since developed smuggling as a major industry. Liquor was easily available in Pondicherry, but Madras was a dry state. Therefore, smuggling liquor into Madras earned fortunes for private liquor owners. Moreover, the French did not want to grant freedom immediately to their subjects in India for fear that this would encourage the nationalists in North Africa to step up their pressure for independence.

Economically, however, the enclaves were a burden on the French economy. After carefully considering all the consequences, the French Government agreed to negotiate with the Government of India, and the *de facto* transfer of the territories was announced on October 13, 1954, in a joint declaration. On November 1, 1954, the territories were legally transferred to India without referendums being held (Table 8).

Even 15 years after integration, French influence has not completely faded from the former enclaves. These enclaves joined India as autonomous areas, each with an administrator working under the Home Ministry and with an elected assembly in the territory. Politics in Pondicherry is played around liquor.[69] The Chief Minister, Farook Maricar, supported prohibition but Venkatasubba Reddiar, the former Chief Minister, favours retaining licensed liquor laws. Both are members of the Congress Party. The Congress Party controlled 20 seats in an assembly of 30 until the recent elections of February, 1969, and most Congressmen in the state are liquor traders. Ten other members were associated with an anti-Communist group supporting Goubert. In the recent elections the DMK party got hold of the assembly and ousted the Congress Party. Until February, 1969, Pondicherry was a stronghold of the Congress Party.

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[68] "India: Flag in Pondicherry," *Time*, LXIII, No. 15 (April 12, 1954), p. 37.

[69] "Pondicherry: Unstable Compromise," *Link*, X, No. 13 (November 5, 1967), p. 15.

The story of the Portuguese enclaves is quite different from that of the French territories. Their liberation from Portugal began at midnight on August 14-15, 1947, when the British transferred power to India, and ended on December 19, 1961, with the surrender of the Portuguese at Panjam.[70] The Portuguese were less accommodating than the French and had even refused to consider transferring their territories to India. They maintained that all their overseas territories were an integral part of metropolitan Portugal, although the territories in India were more than nine thousand kilometres away.

TABLE 8

FOREIGN POSSESSIONS IN INDIA AND THEIR INTEGRATION

Territory	*Area in Square Kilometres*	*Population*	*Date of Integration into India*
	French		
Chandernagor	26	4,486	June 19, 1949
Pondicherry	280	222,572	November 1, 1954
Karikal	135	40,541	November 1, 1954
Mahe	59	18,293	November 1, 1954
Yanaon	15	5,853	November 1, 1954
Total	515	332,045	
	Portuguese		
Dadra	554	69,005	July 21, 1954
Nagar Haveli			August 2, 1954
Daman			December 19, 1961
Diu	35	31,138	December 19, 1961
Goa	3,390	547,448	December 19, 1961
Total	3,979	637,591	
Grand Total	4,494	969,636	

Indian nationalists, however, insisted that Portugal was neither the fatherland nor the motherland destined to rule eternally on the margins of the Indian subcontinent. Geographically, economically, culturally and even religiously, they argued, Portugal had no justification for being there. On the matter of a possible transfer, neither Portugal nor India wished a plebiscite to be held. Portugal did not want a vote to be taken on the grounds that the alternative of accession to India was not possible, and India because a referendum among the 637,591 Goans and other Portuguese subjects could very possibly end in victory for Portugal.[71] The people of the core region of Goa were overwhelmingly Roman Catholic and possibly more loyal to the church than to the secular state of India. In order to create loyalty to Portugal, Portuguese administrators for generations had forced the Indians to adopt Christianity, but the caste system prevailed even among the Christians.

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[70] R.P. Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

There were occasional revolts and recurrent agitation for independence from the Portuguese in the territories. Primarily, the people of the Portuguese enclaves resorted to *Satyagraha* (non-violent agitation) when Portugal refused to discuss the subject of cession with the Government of India. On occasion, the non-violent *Satyagrahis* were beaten mercilessly. On July 21, 1954, Dadra broke with Portugal through the efforts of the United Front of Goans with the support of local villagers. Within two weeks, on August 2, 1954, the Independent United Party and the Goa People's Party helped the local population overthrow the Portuguese rule in Nagar Haveli (Table 8). The Government of India then refused passage to Portuguese forces through Indian territory. The whole matter was referred to the International Court at the Hague, and after hearing the arguments the decision was in favour of India. The Court decided that "Portugal did not have in 1954 such a right of passage in respect of armed forces and arms and ammunition. . . " further that, "India has not acted contrary to its obligations resulting from Potrugal's right of passage in respect of private persons, civil officials and goods in general."[72] Thus, Dadra and Nagar Haveli became autonomous administrative territories. Two bills were passed in the Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha (Lower and Upper Houses of the Indian Parliament) in August 1961, which made Dadra and Nagar Haveli the seventh union territory within India (Fig. 21). Other territories remained in dispute, with Portugal unyielding on the question of transfer.

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[71] Lewis M. Alexander, *World Political Patterns*, 2nd edition, (Chicago: Rand McNally Company, 1963), p. 472.

In the other Portuguese territories (Goa, Daman and Diu) the *Satyagrahis* intensified their activities. Agitators were encouraged by the President of the National Congress of Goa to scatter among the people of Goa and preach freedom until captured. Prime Minister Nehru decreed that only Goans could participate in the movement for freedom. For this decree Nehru was criticized from all quarters. The "liberators" on the Indian side of the border were mostly Communist and Praja Socialist (Leftists) and Jana Sangh followers. In the 1957 elections Communists and pro-Communists made large gains on the Goan border areas in India. India appears to be reluctant to use the military force required to settle this issue which will like all other international affairs to be better and more finally settled as a result of negotiations. But, Nehru finally indicated that armed intervention should not be ruled out as a means of achieving the release of Goa.[73] Harsh treatment to the liberators and attacks on Indian fishing boats by Portuguese armed personnel finally led to the Indian decision to invade Goa. Within 24 hours after the invasion, Goa, Daman and Diu were restored to India, on December 19, 1961. The casualties were extraordinarily light. It was one of the least bloody anti-colonial wars in history.[74]

International opinion was much aroused over the Indian annexation move. While the British Government failed to support its oldest ally and a NATO member against a Commonwealth nation, the western world generally was against India's move. The Afro-Asian nations naturally supported India. Mr John Foster Dulles, the United States Secretary of State, said that his nation considered Goa to be a province of Portugal. The matter was taken to the United Nations Security Council, where Mr Adlai Stevenson's speech strongly supported the Portugese case and contended that India's action had weakened the world organizaton. India, on the other hand, pleaded that if the invasion of Egypt, Cuba and Hungary by powerful permanent Security Council members did not weaken the world organization, how could India's action to liberate a part of its territory produce such a disaster. Finally, the Security Council resolution in favour of Portugal was defeated by a Soviet veto. Normalcy was soon restored. The former Portuguese territories became a part of the Indian Union on December 19, 1961. This achievement made possible an easy victory for the Congress Party in the 1962 general election.

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[72] *India: Judgement of the International Court of Justice on the Right of Passage over Indian Territory Case* (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1960), p. 38-41.

[73] B. Shiva Rao, "An Indian Report on the Goan Crisis," *Reporter*, XXVI, No. 2 (January 18, 1962), p. 26.

[74] Greighton Burns, "Goa Since Liberation," *Reporter*, XXVI, No. 6, (March 15, 1962), p. 28.

Liberation has led to much political discussion in the territories. In January, 1967, in an opinion poll, Goa rejected union with the state of Maharashtra by 54.2 per cent to 43.2 per cent. This attitude can be attributed to the United efforts of anti-merger parties such as the United Goan Party, the Goan Congress and the Anti-Merger Front. Daman and Diu opted to remain as a union territory by the overwhelming majority of 87.78 per cent of the votes. Currently, Goa, Daman and Diu form one union territory, whereas Dadra and Nagar Haveli form another one.

Of all the once foreign enclaves, India has profited most from Goa. The area has reserves of iron ore and manganese which are now exported directly to several foreign countries. In spite of its valuable mineral resources, the Portuguese were not economically benefited by Goa, because they had to keep a large number of administrative and military personnel in the overseas territory. India has been able to administer the area with considerably less expense. No longer is there a danger of a foreign military base being established on Indian soil, as happened during the Second World War when German merchant ships took shelter in the

Goan ports of Marmagoa and Panjim and transmitted valuable information. Panjim, a particularly good port, has been much appreciated by India, and the people of Goa are being integrated into Indian national life.

OFFSHORE ISLANDS

The offshore islands of India have great significance to the Indian Union in relation to the defence of the mainland. Strategic bases on these islands can help discourage China and Pakistan from making a naval attack. Furthermore, the islands can be developed for sea food purposes to help alleviate the chronic food shortage in India. The offshore islands can be divided into two groups, namely, the Bay of Bengal islands and the Arabian Sea islands. In general, the Bay of Bengal islands are more important than the Arabian Sea islands. These, the Bay of Bengal islands, are a group of 225 small islands, 204 of them in the Andaman group with combined area of 6,494 square kilometres, and 21 of them in the Nicobar group with an area of 1,645 square kilometres (Fig. 21). Whereas the islands are almost 1,300 kilometres from the nearest Indian ports, Calcutta, Visakhapatnam and Madras, their southern extremity is only about 120 kilometres from Archien Head in Sumatra and their northern limits only 200 kilometres from Cape Nagrais in Burma.[75]

The southernmost tip of the Nicobar Islands is the most southerly part of India, rather than Cape Comorin. The cultural features of these Bay of Bengal islands are unique in themselves because they were kept in isolation by the British. The population of the Andaman Islands is now almost entirely of recent immigration. Almost every regional and linguistic group of the mainland is represented. Irrespective of their caste, colour or language, the islanders feel bound by a common destiny. The *lingua franca* from the extreme north to the extreme south is spoken Hindustani.[76]

[75] K.R. Ganesh, "Introducing Andamans: India's Island Outpost," *Mainstream*, V, No. 49 (August 5, 1967), p. 22.

[76] "Andaman: Neglected Outpost," *Link*, X, No. 15 (Nov. 19, 1967), p. 19.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are the only regions in India where a caste system was never prevalent and where Hindustani has evolved as a common language. The peaceful co-existence of religious groups is another characteristic of the islands. There has never been any instance of Hindu-Muslim conflict, even during tension-charge times when rivers of blood were spilled on the mainland.[77] Intermarriage between religous groups has been widespread. A number of East Pakistani refugees have come to settle in the islands. For reasons of national security, however, it is not considered advisable to allow uncontrolled and unplanned migration.

The aborigines of the Andamans are one of the few surviving groups of pygmies, who in the past were widely scattered all over the world. The Nicobars are peopled by a very ancient Mongoloid race. In these islands there are no Europeans residing permanently. However, as mentioned, a large number of Indians do live there.[78] The population is increasing at a rapid rate. It was 31,000 in 1951 and is now about 77,000.

The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are important because of their strategic location. The Japanese occupation and fortification of the islands between March, 1942, and November, 1945, in support of their offensive on the mainland, attracted attention to them. The Chinese aggression in 1962, followed by the expansionist claims of Sukarno, former President of Indonesia, also created an awareness of the strategic significance of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands as India's outposts on the southeast. The territorial waters around these islands area favourable fishing ground for Singapore-based Chinese poachers. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands have great potentiality in any future programme of naval development. Serious government study is being devoted to the future development of these islands in order to use them for Indian naval bases.

Timely visits by top-ranking Indian leaders and the active government interest in the development of the islands have enhanced the loyalty of the islanders. In the 1967 general election the islanders chose their first representative to the Indian Parliament. For the defence and safety of the Republic, these islanders should be brought closer to the mainland by giving them an opportunity to participate in the national development.

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[77] K. R. Ganesh, "Andaman: India's Outpost, II: Many Splendoured Community," *Mainstream*, V, No. 50 (August 15, 1967), p. 20.

[78] Lidio Cipriani, *The Andaman Islands* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1966), p. 2.

One offshore island became a bone of contention between India and Ceylon. A dispute arose between India and Ceylon over possession of the island of Kachcha Thivu, which is about five square kilometres in area. Situated in Pak Strait between India and Ceylon, the island is a desolate, half-coral, half-sand inlet, of no immediate strategic value. It is used mainly by fishermen at the time of the celebration of Saint Anthony's festival. The complaint of the Government of Ceylon has been that thousands of Indians are smuggled into Ceylon illegally at the time of the festival every year by organized gangs. Neither Indians nor Ceylonese pilgrims carry any passports or identity cards with them. India claims the island because the Raja of Ramnad, in the state of Tamil Nadu (Madras) exercised the rights of *Zamindari* (land ownership) for a long a time and collected taxes from the people using the island. He leased the island several times to pearl divers. In December, 1947, the Raja of Ramnad leased the chalk quarrying right on the island of Kachcha Thivu to two people for two years.[79]

Ceylon's claim to Kachcha Thivu is based on maps. It was shown as part of the Jaffna Peninsula of Ceylon as early as 1544, and British maps of 1800-1802 also mention the island as Ceylonese. In addition, there are religious considerations involved. Officials of the two governments have had joint meetings in an effort to determine the status of the island. Probably, the Ceylonese Government is mainly concerned about the illegal smuggling of immigrants. If this is so, the Government of India should assure Ceylon that it will not allow such smuggling and take measures to implement that assurance.[80]

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[79] Urmila Phadnis, "Kachcha Thivu: Background and Issues," *Economic and Political Weekly*, III, No. 20 (May 18, 1968), p. 783.

[80] "Less than Two Square Miles of Territory," *Thought*, XX, No. 10 (March 9, 1968), p. 1.

In any case, the matter should be settled peacefully. India should never forget that Ceylon is neither a Pakistan nor a Communist China. It has given unmistakable proof of respect for and friendship with India.

In contrast to the Bay of Bengal islands, the Arabian Sea islands consist only of small ones which are nearer to the mainland and hence easier to govern. The Arabian Sea islands include three main groups, all of coral formation, the Amindivi, Laccadive and Minicoy islands, 19 islands in all, comprising a total area of 28.5 square kilometres. The majority of the population on these islands is Muslim. The States Reorganization Commission recommended that these islands be included in Kerala for administrative convenience. The principle that the Government of India has followed, however, has been to form states with one contiguous area, and in the case of fragmented areas like these islands to have them controlled by the Central Government as a union territory. In line with this practice, the Government of India took over the administration of the islands and posted an administrator to run the governmental machinery smoothly. Special attention has been given to the development of communications between the mainland and the islands as well as between the islands themselves. The islands are only 200 to 400 kilometres away from the Kerala coast, and hence it is easy to control them from the mainland. Some attention is being given to the problem of economic development. The main commercial activity in the Arabian Sea islands is the coir business which is handled by the government to prevent profiteering by middlemen.

Although not a part of India, the Maldive islands are important to that nation. They are a group of about 2,000 low-lying coral islands out of which 220 are inhabited with a total population of 93,000. By virtue of their strategic location, these islands have threatened to bring the cold war right into the erstwhile quiet area of the Indian ocean.[91] Their importance was realized when the British established a base on Gan, the largest island after Male. In return for complete independence from the United Kingdom, granted on July 25, 1965, the Maldivian Government turned over to Britain, as a free gift, the island of Gan to be used for the construction of a military airfield, and Hithadoo Island to be used for a radio station. On the eve of Maldivian independence, China was one of the first to announce recognition of the country, a ready acknowledgement of the strategic importance of the Maldives in the Indian Ocean and of China's keen interest in that ocean.[82] China hopes to establish an embassy in the Maldives in order to keep a close watch on British and American troop movements in the area. The Soviet Union have also tried to work out a suitable programme for a base in the Maldives, but it has not been successful.

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[91] R.D. Dixit, "Maldive Islands: The Harbinger of Cold War in the Indian Ocean," *The Indian Geographical Journal*, XLI, Nos. 1 and 2 (January-June, 1966), p. 31.

For India, Pakistan and Ceylon, peace in the Indian Ocean is of vital importance. No industrial development, no commercial growth, no stable political structure is possible for them unless there is peace in the region. The Indian Government was disturbed by the arrangements made for use of the Gan base by Britain because India feels that its long-range future necessitates command of the Indian Ocean. All of the offshore islands, as well as the Indian Ocean itself, are considered to be very important from the point of view of national security.

[82] C. Navaratne, "China Woos the Maldives," *Atlas*, XII, No. 2, (August 1966), p. 49.

CHAPTER V

Patterns of Political Parties

The integration of Indian states, the reorganization of states on a linguistic basis, and concern for the peripheral areas of Kashmir, the Northeast Frontier Agency, and the offshore islands are all major problems affecting the internal political stability in India. A more immediate problem, however, is the changing pattern of political parties which suggests a basic political instability of the nation.

India is a politically conscious country with a high voter participation, in spite of widespread illiteracy. Of 250,681,530 eligible voters in 1967, 61.60 per cent voted in the *Lok Sabha* (the lower house of the Indian Parliament) elections and 60.66 per cent for the state assemblies (*Vidhan Sabhas*). Some new voting patterns have appeared in the last General Elections. Until the fourth General Election, the Congress Party won a clear majority each time; all other parties plus the independents could not match its strength. In analysing the changed patterns now evident in the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabhas, several basic questions arise, such as: What is the role played by the different political parties in the political stability of the nation? What are the factors responsible for current distributional patterns of the Lok Sabha and Vidhan Sabha constituencies? What are the effects of the changing patterns on the economy and politics of India? These and other questions beg for rational answers, and the analysis which follows is an attempt to provide some insight into the questions posed.

PATTERNS OF THE LOK SABHA ELECTIONS

During most of the period since independence, Indian politics have evolved around one dominant political party, the Congress Party, and several smaller opposition parties. In the first General Election, that of 1951-52, 14 all-India and 52 state parties were recognized by the Election Commissioner. The total number of political parties seeking recognition from the Election Commissioner eventually reached 178, excluding the 14 all-India parties.[1] A total of 77 political parties contested in the first General Election, 52 in the second (1957), 34 in the third (1962), and 35 in the fourth (1967). In a general way the regional, religious, ethnic, linguistic, social and cultural diversity of the continental society of India accounts for the multiplicity of political parties.[2] The very large number of political parties is somewhat misleading, however, for in the first three general elections political opinions were essentially crystallized in 15 national and local parties representing nationalist, socialist, liberal, pragmatic, secular, communal, tribal, caste and regional-linguistic tendencies.[3] Some of the parties are ordinarily confined to a single region or a community such as the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Madras (Tamil Nadu), the Muslim League in Kerala, the Akali Dal in Punjab, the Peasant and Workers Party in Maharashtra, the All Party Hill Leaders Conference in Assam and the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa.

The most important national party is the Congress Party which has represented a kind of historical consensus and enjoys a continuous basis of support and trust among the masses. The tendencies of the political parties were to promise dramatic improvements as soon as India had won her freedom, to bring social justice, to augment economic development and to improve India's millions. The result was to burden the Congress Party with the great weight of unfulfilled hopes of those who believed that independence would automatically make India prosperous and give every one a new chance in life. The main objectives of the Congress Party since independence have been to create a socialistic pattern of society, to raise the masses from their poverty, and to close the gap between the rich and the poor; but the Congress Party has not achieved these objectives fully. The party held power for 22 years and during that time achieved a considerable amount of progress.

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[1] Gopal Krishna, "One Party Dominance—Development and Trends," in *Party System and Election Studies*, edited by Rajni Kothari (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1967), p. 25.

[2] Rajni Kothari, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[3] Gopal Krishna, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

Among the opposition parties, the Communist Party of India has the longest record of existence. It has a particular stronghold in Kerala. The party split into Right Communist (Moscow-oriented) and Left Communist (Chinese-oriented) divisions in 1964. In the democratic parliamentary machinery of India, Communism itself has undergone radical changes in its ideology and strategy. Rajni Kothari has asserted that "political change is now sought through electoral majorities and not through revolutionary action, violent or non-violent.[4] Even the leftist parties follow democratic methods, de-emphasizing violence. Besides the left and right Communist parties of India, other leftist parties are the Praja Socialist Party (PSP), the Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP), the Peasant and Workers Party, the Revolutionary Socialist Party and the Forward Bloc.

Among the rightist groups, the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh developed as important parties during the fourth General Election. The Swatantra Party is conservative and anti-Communist, and is opposed to many of the socialist policies of the Congress Party. It was formed to support the anti-cooperative farming measures, but favoured increased state participation in industrial sectors. It opposed expropriation in any form, rejected joint co-operative farming, bureaucratic management of the rural economy, heavy taxation, abnormal deficit financing, and foreign loans which it considered beyond the capacity of the country to repay.[5] The Jana Sangh Party believes that the state is a secular body and, therefore, should not align itself with any particular religion or sect. This party has been branded as Hindu communal or the Hindi linguistic party, but it has followers of all faiths and languages.

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[4] Rajni Kothari, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

[5] Motilal A. Jhangiani, *Jana Sangh and Swatantra: A Profile of the Rightist Parties in India* (Bombay : Manaktala, 1967), p. 182.

Besides the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh, other rightist parties include the Muslim League, the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK), and the Janta Party. There are also Congress dissident groups such as the Kerala Congress; the Bangala Congress in West Bengal; the Jana Congress in Orissa, Mysore, Haryana and Madhya Pradesh; the Janta Party in Rajasthan; and the Jana Kranti Dal in Bihar. All these dissident groups are rightist in their ideologies.

For two decades the role of the opposition parties has been restricted to influencing the policies of the ruling party rather than to challenge its monopoly of power. Moreover, none of these parties emerged as a recognized opposition in the parliament. No opposition party could secure the necessary minimum of 53 seats in a parliament of 523 members. In addition to the candidates of various opposition parties, there have been independent candidates but their strength has declined with each election.

The pattern of distribution of the Lok Sabha seats changed very little following the first four General Elections. In the first General Election, the Congress Party gained 45 per cent of the total votes but secured 74.43 per cent of the seats, whereas the Socialist Party received 10.6 per cent of the votes but secured only 2.4 per cent of the seats (Table 9). Other important opposition parties have been the Communist Party of India and the Kishan Majdoor Praja Party. Their strongholds were in Hyderabad, Madras, Orissa and tribal areas of Bihar, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan and Travancore-Cochin, all of which were formerly under princely rulers (Fig. 24). A significant number (15.8 per cent) of the Lok Sabha seats were secured by independent candidates from over the country in the 1952 elections, when thousands of Indian voters were unwilling to support any party.

In 1957 the Indian people voted with more confidence, greater understanding and better judgment than they apparently had in 1951-52. While the Congress Party gained only 47.78 per cent

TABLE 9

GENERAL ELECTION 1952: LOK SABHA

State	*Total No. of Contested Seats*	*Total No. of Valid Votes Polled*	*Number and Percentage of Valid Votes Polled by the Parties*					
			Congress	*Socialist Party*	*K.M.P.P.*	*Communist Party*	*Jana Sangh*	*Independents*
Part "A" State								
Assam	12	2,647,127	1,210,707 (53.2)	506,943 (22.5)	265,687 (10.0)	Nil	96,303 (3.6)	330,623 (12.1)
Bihar	54	9,991,510	4,573,058 (45.8)	2,126,125 (21.3)	339,341 (3.4)	39,272 (0.4)	39,939 (0.9)	1,277,856 (12.8)
Bombay	44	11,528,290	5,781,277 (50.2)	1,682,494 (14.6)	639,788 (5.6)	154,073 (1.3)	Nil	1,350,149 (11.7)
Madhya Pradesh	29	7,192,591	3,713,537 (51.6)	877,392 (12.1)	451,749 (6.2)	29,422 (0.4)	355,356 (4.9)	858,407 (11.9)
Madras	73	19,929,665	7,253,461 (36.4)	1,055,415 (5.3)	1,952,196 (9.8)	1,780,407 (8.9)	Nil	4,612,714 (23.1)
Orissa	19	3,659,493	1,555,787 (42.5)	563,462 (15.4)	52,654 (1.4)	211,303 (5.8)	Nil	316,538 (8.7)
Punjab	18	4,992,338	2,134,588 (42.8)	107,713 (2.2)	Nil	251,623 (5.0)	279,639 (6.0)	930,380 (18.6)
Uttar Pradesh	86	17,074,825	9,047,305 (53.0)	2,208,687 (13.0)	836,129 (5.0)	59,699 (0.4)	1,244,027 (7.0)	1,956,114 (11.0)
West Bengal	34	7,613,932	3,205,162 (42.1)	152,299 (2.0)	679,149 (8.9)	720,304 (9.5)	452,278 (5.9)	1,408,361 (18.5)

TABLE 9—(*Continued*)

State	*Total No. of Contested Seats*	*Total No. of Valid Votes Polled*	*Number and Percentage of Valid Votes Polled by the Parties*					
			Congress	*Socialist Party*	*K.M.P.P.*	*Communist Party*	*Jana Sangh*	*Independents*
Part "B" States								
Hyderabad	23	4,854,862	1,945,798 (40.0)	651,316 (13.4)	Nil	Nil	Nil	388,939 (8.0)
Madhya Bharat	11	1,953,571	992,159 (50.8)	268,399 (13.7)	4,648 (0.2)	24,716 (1.3)	188,569 (9.7)	74,392 (3.8)
Mysore	11	2,824,427	1,509,075 (53.4)	181,430 (6.4)	650,658 (23.4)	73,322 (2.5)	117,470 (4.1)	292,472 (10.3)
PEPSU	5	1,475,112	392,408 (33.4)	38,222 (2.5)	39,749 (2.6)	Nil	43,349 (2.9)	311,635 (21.1)
Rajasthan	20	3,526,957	1,460,971 (41.4)	119,287 (3.4)	31,443 (0.9)	5,490 (0.2)	107,089 (3.0)	1,028,388 (29.2)
Saurashtra	5	762,705	506,112 (66.6)	36,980 (4.7)	32,193 (4.6)	Nil	Nil	58,343 (8.3)
Travancore-Cochin	12	3,490,476	1,224,533 (35.1)	459,669 (13.2)	Nil	Nil	Nil	1,265,051 (36.1)
Part "C" States								
Ajmer	2	178,999	89,761 (50.0)	Nil	Nil	25,128 (14.0)	28,990 (16.2)	10,718 (6.0)
Bhopal	2	169,457	97,292 (57.0)	3,329 (1.9)	Nil	Nil	Nil	25,316 (14.0)

Bilaspur	NO POLLING TOOK PLACE							
Coorg	1	63,813	38,063 (59.0)	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	25,750 (41.0)
Delhi	4	655,900	324,214 (49.4)	Nil	47,735 (7.2)	Nil	169,997 (25.9)	83,045 (12.6)
Himachal Pradesh	3	223,189	117,036 (52.4)	16,780 (7.5)	27,368 (12.3)	Nil	23,918 (10.7)	19,099 (8.5)
Kutch	2	119,580	78,771 (65.8)	5,985 (5.0)	Nil	Nil	Nil	34,824 (29.1)
Manipur	2	152,467	36,317 (23.0)	29,372 (19.0)	Nil	13,184 (8.6)	Nil	13,737 (9.0)
Tripura	2	157,371	40,263 (25.6)	Nil	Nil	96,458 (61.3)	9,663 (6.1)	10,987 (6.9)
Vindhya Pradesh	5	705,838	238,220 (33.7)	125,480 (17.7)	106,071 (15.0)	Nil	89,701 (12.7)	94,911 (13.4)
Total for all States	479	105,944,495	47,665,875 (45.0)	11,216,779 (10.6)	6,156,558 (5.8)	3,484,401 (3.3)	3,246,288 (3.1)	16,778,749 (15.8)

NOTE: Percentages of valid votes polled by smaller parties in the elections were: Forward Bloc (Marxist Group) 0.9%; Forward Bloc (Ruikar Group) 0.10%; Hindu Mahasabha 0.95%; Ram Rajya Parishad 2.03%; Scheduled Castes Federation 2.3%; Revolutionary Socialist Party 0.37%; Revolutionary Communist Party 0.02%; Bolshevik Party of India 0.02%; Krishikar Lok Party 1.4% and other parties 8.3%.

of the Lok Sabha votes, it secured 75.1 per cent of the seats (Table 10). The Communist Party of India and the Praja Socialist Party were the strongest opposition parties. The opposition was concentrated in Maharashtra (coastal and bilingual area) and the coastal states of Kerala, Madras, Orissa and West Bengal. Opposition proved weakest in the hinterland of Madhya Pradesh (especially in underdeveloped areas), and in Punjab, eastern Bombay State, Uttar Pradesh and Rajasthan (Fig. 25). In addition to the national opposition parties, the local and regional parties, such as the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa, the People's Democratic Front in Andhra Pradesh and the Peasant and Workers Party in Bombay, showed significant strength. The independents, although reduced in number, still influenced many voters in Madras, Bombay, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Orissa and Kerala (Fig. 25).

In the third general election (1962) the Congress Party secured 44.72 per cent of the total votes cast and gained 73.03 per cent of the Lok Sabha seats. It lost some seats from Madhya Pradesh, where it had had 100 per cent of the representation prior to the 1962 elections, but it gained seats in Maharashtra. Its support from the coastal states of Bombay, Gujarat, West Bengal, Orissa and Madras rose.[6] With the exception of Orissa, these are the most industrialized and modern parts of the country. The Congress Party lost support in the hinterland, i.e. Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Mysore (Fig. 26). The Communist Party of India was second in overall strength to the Congress Party in 1962 and secured 29 seats (Table 11). During this third General Election the Swatantra and the DMK (in Madras) developed as new parties and the Jana Sangh, in the north, increased its strength in the parliament (Fig. 26).

In the fourth General Election (1967), the pattern of distribution of the Lok Sabha seats changed tremendously. Direct elections to the Lok Sabha were held for the first time in Jammu and Kashmir, the Andaman and Nicobar islands, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, and the Laccadive, Minicoy, and Amindivi islands.

[6] Myron Weiner, "India's Third General Elections," *Asian Survey*, II, No. 5 (May, 1962), p. 5.

Although the total vote secured by the Congress Party declined only five per cent from that of the third General Election, from 44.75 per cent in 1962 to 39.57 per cent in 1967, the party secured only 282 seats as compared with 361 in 1962. This distribution provided an overall majority of 44, but this was a precarious margin in the light of factionalism within the party (Table 12).[7] In 1967 the Congress Party won only 54.24 per cent of the Lok Sabha seats. Five important ministers, three state ministers and six deputy ministers at the central level were ousted. The Swatantra and the Jana Sangh parties gained a number of seats, from 18 and 12 respectively in 1962 to 44 and 35 in 1967, but these parties gained only 5.03 and 4.07 per cent respectively in the popular vote. The Swatantra Party's gains were in Gujarat, Mysore, Rajasthan, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Madras where the ex-princely rulers had their kingdoms. The Jana Sangh won most of its seats in the Hindi dominated areas but also some in the areas of the former princely rulers. The Chinese branch of the Communist Party of India won 42 seats, mostly in Kerala and West Bengal. The Socialist Party in Bihar and the DMK Party in Madras showed gains (Table 12). The Congress Party lost heavily in the Gangetic plain, in western and central India, along the northeastern coast in the Assam hill areas, and in the deep south (Fig. 27). It is significant to note that no other geographical region had been as politically turbulent as the north.

PATTERNS OF STATE ASSEMBLIES

In the races for various state assemblies the Congress Party secured 42.20 per cent of the votes and 68.50 per cent of the total seats in the first General Election (Table 13), but it was still able to form ministries in all the states of India (Fig. 28). In Travancore-Cochin, Madras, Hyderabad and PEPSU (now in Punjab), independents and the united leftist were the main opposition groups. The election gains of the Communists in

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[7] Michael Brecher, "Succession in India 1967: The Routinization of Political Change," *Asian Survey*, VII, No. 7 (July, 1967), p. 424.

TABLE 13

GENERAL ELECTION 1952: VIDHAN SABHAS

States	*Total No. of Contested Seats*	*Total No. of Valid Votes Polled*	*Number and Percentage of Valid Votes Polled by the Parties*					
			Congress	*Socialist Party*	*K.M.P.P.*	*Communist*	*Jana Sangh*	*Independents*
Part "A" States								
Assam	102	2,448,890	1,075,331 (43.9)	325,690 (13.2)	146,792 (5.9)	69,431 (2.8)	7,191 (below 1)	662,492 (27.0)
Bihar	329	9,548,840	3,951,148 (41.37)	1,737,466 (18.19)	273,911 (2.86)	108,671 (1.13)	113,234 (1.18)	1,863,661 (9.51)
Bombay	311	11,123,242	5,556,334 (49.95)	1,330,246 (11.96)	559,492 (5.03)	159,994 (1.44)	4,876 (0.04)	1,917,574 (17.24)
Madhya Pradesh	225	7,006,588	3,281,983 (40.8)	660,883 (9.4)	276,723 (3.9)	24,460 (0.3)	249,899 (3.5)	1,852,452 (26.4)
Madras	372	19,997,256	6,998,667 (35.0)	1,312,703 (6.56)	1,793,629 (8.97)	2,591,341 (12.96)	8,216 (0.04)	4,749,184 (23.75)
Orissa	135	3,677,046	1,428,414 (38.84)	432,731 (11.76)	16,948 (0.46)	206,757 (5.68)	Nil	822,521 (22.33)
Punjab	125	4,978,589	1,830,601 (37.0)	224,608 (4.0)	Nil	251,713 (5.1)	277,616 (6.0)	1,182,408 (25.24)
Uttar Pradesh	430	16,758,627	8,032,455 (47.93)	2,032,594 (12.13)	954,196 (5.69)	155,869 (0.93)	1,066,714 (6.37)	3,275,310 (19.54)
West Bengal	237	7,444,225	2,897,881 (38.93)	215,385 (2.90)	667,445 (8.97)	800,951 (10.76)	417,879 (5.61)	1,638,399 (22.0)

Part "B" States								
Hyderabad	171	5,178,593	2,162,659	592,071	4,047	Nil	2,328	742,187
			(38.0)	(11.0)	(0.1)		(0.07)	(14.0)
Madhya Bharat	98	1,987,410	938,919	145,843	6,510	39,600	193,627	258,156
			(47.3)	(7.3)	(0.3)	(2.0)	(9.07)	(13.0)
Mysore	98	2,753,868	1,276,318	240,290	391,653	25,116	62,118	696,667
			(46.35)	(8.73)	(14.23)	(0.91)	(2.25)	(25.30)
PEPSU	59	1,354,478	376,297	17,480	15,613	86,191	37,494	419,725
			(27.7)	(1.2)	(1.0)	(6.3)	(2.7)	(30.9)
Rajasthan	153	3,261,442	1,286,953	136,464	16,411	17,181	193,532	896,178
			(39.5)	(4.3)	(0.5)	(0.5)	(5.9)	(27.4)
Saurashtra	57	951,509	606,534	34,778	30,907	7,791	4,346	75,624
			(63.9)	(3.6)	(3.2)	(0.8)	(0.5)	(7.9)
Travancore-Cochin	104	3,398,193	1,204,364	485,194	Nil	Nil	Nil	1,151,555
			(35.4)	(14.3				(33.9)
Part "C" States								
Ajmer	30	234,788	101,441	1,094	Nil	3,494	28,612	84,366
			(43 21)	(0.46)		(1.49)	(12.19)	(35.94)
Bhopal	29	226,220	117,656	1,744	Nil	Nil	11,135	51,746
			(52.0)	(0.7)			(4.8)	(22.8)
Coorg	24	88,047	48,945	Nil	Nil	1,386	Nil	37,716
			(55.6)			(1.6)		(42.6)

TABLE 13—(*Continued*)

States	*Total No. of Contested Seats*	*Total No. of Valid Votes Polled*	*Number and Percentage of Valid Votes Polled by the Parties*					
			Congress	*Socialist Party*	*K.M.P.P.*	*Communist*	*Jana Sangh*	*Independents*
Part "C" States								
Delhi	47	521,766	271,812 (52.94)	12,396 (2.37)	13,646 (2.61)	2,591 (0.49)	114,207 (21.88)	89,972 (15.89)
Himachal Pradesh	34	179,783	85,079 (47.3)	2,664 (1.4)	26,471 (14.7)	Nil	6,212 (3.5)	47,432 (26.3)
Vindhya Pradesh	59	681,799	272,255 (39.9)	128,787 (18.9)	111,825 (16.4)	Nil	67,330 (9.9)	57,900 (8.5)
Total for all States	3,229	103,801,199	43,802,546 (42.20)	10,071,211 (9.70)	5,306,219 (5.11)	4,552,537 (4.38)	2,866,566 (2.76)	22,566,226 (21.74)

NOTE: Percentage of valid votes polled by smaller parties in the elections were: Forward Bloc (Marxist Group) 0.71%; Forward Bloc (Ruikar Group) 0.16%; Hindu Mahasabha 0.82%; Ram Rajya Parishad 1.21%; Scheduled Castes Federation 1.68%; Revolutionary Socialist Party 0.24%; Revolutionary Communist Party 0.23%; Bolshevik Party of India 0.02%; Krishikar Lok Party 0.99%; and Other Parties 8.23%.

Madras, Travancore-Cochin, and Hyderabad prompted some observers to suggest a possible Communist takeover in South India.[8] In general, however, the Congress Party had strong control over all India after the election of 1951-52.

The Congress Party reached the peak of its power, prestige and glory during and after the second General Election. It secured 45.41 per cent of the total vote (3.22 per cent more than in 1951-52), and 65.1 per cent of the total seats (Table 14). It formed state governments in all states but Kerala (Fig. 28). The Communist Party of India formed a coalition Government in Kerala which lasted for 28 months until Presidential rule was proclaimed on July 31, 1959. Kerala is said to have been the first constitutional Government in the world to be captured by a Communist Party without the assistance of an armed force.[9] In the mid-term election of 1960, the Congress Party secured 34.42 per cent of the votes, but formed a government in coalition with the Muslim League and the independents. Finally, the Ministry resigned on September 8, 1964, and a Presidential rule was proclaimed which lasted until the fourth General Election.

In the third General Election to the State Assemblies (1962), the Congress Party won a clear majority in every state except Madhya Pradesh where it received 49.30 per cent of the seats (Table 15). It suffered several setbacks, however, in Rajasthan, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar. It is significant that the Opposition could not form a government in any area. It was, therefore, clear that a defeat of the Congress Party in any state meant unstable rather than alternative government. The third General Election indicated that the Hindi region of the Gangetic plain was showing clear signs of political instability.

The pattern established in party distribution on the basis of the fourth general election (1967) differed greatly from these shown in the previous three elections. This time the Congress Party did not secure a majority in eight of the states, Punjab,

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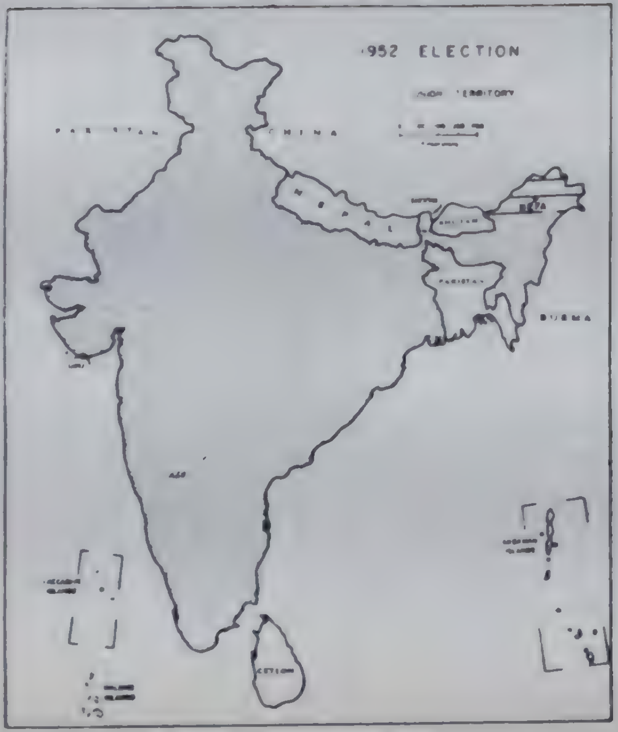
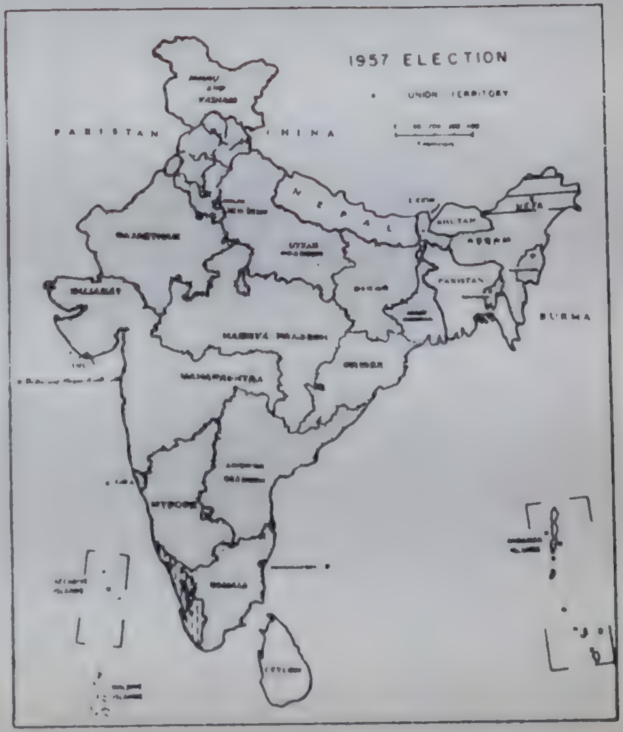
[8] "Three Steps in Democracy," *Eastern Economist*, XLVII, No. 25 (December 30, 1966), p. 1175.

[9] Richard L. Park, *India's Political System* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), p. 70.

CHANGING PATTERN OF STATE ASSEMBLIES
1952-1967


1952 ELECTION
UNION TERRITORY
PAKISTAN
CHINA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
NEFA
PAKISTAN
BURMA
CEYLON


1957 ELECTION
UNION TERRITORY
PAKISTAN
CHINA
NEPAL
BHUTAN
NEFA
ASSAM
PAKISTAN
BURMA
UTTAR PRADESH
BIHAR
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
MYSORE
ANDHRA PRADESH
CEYLON

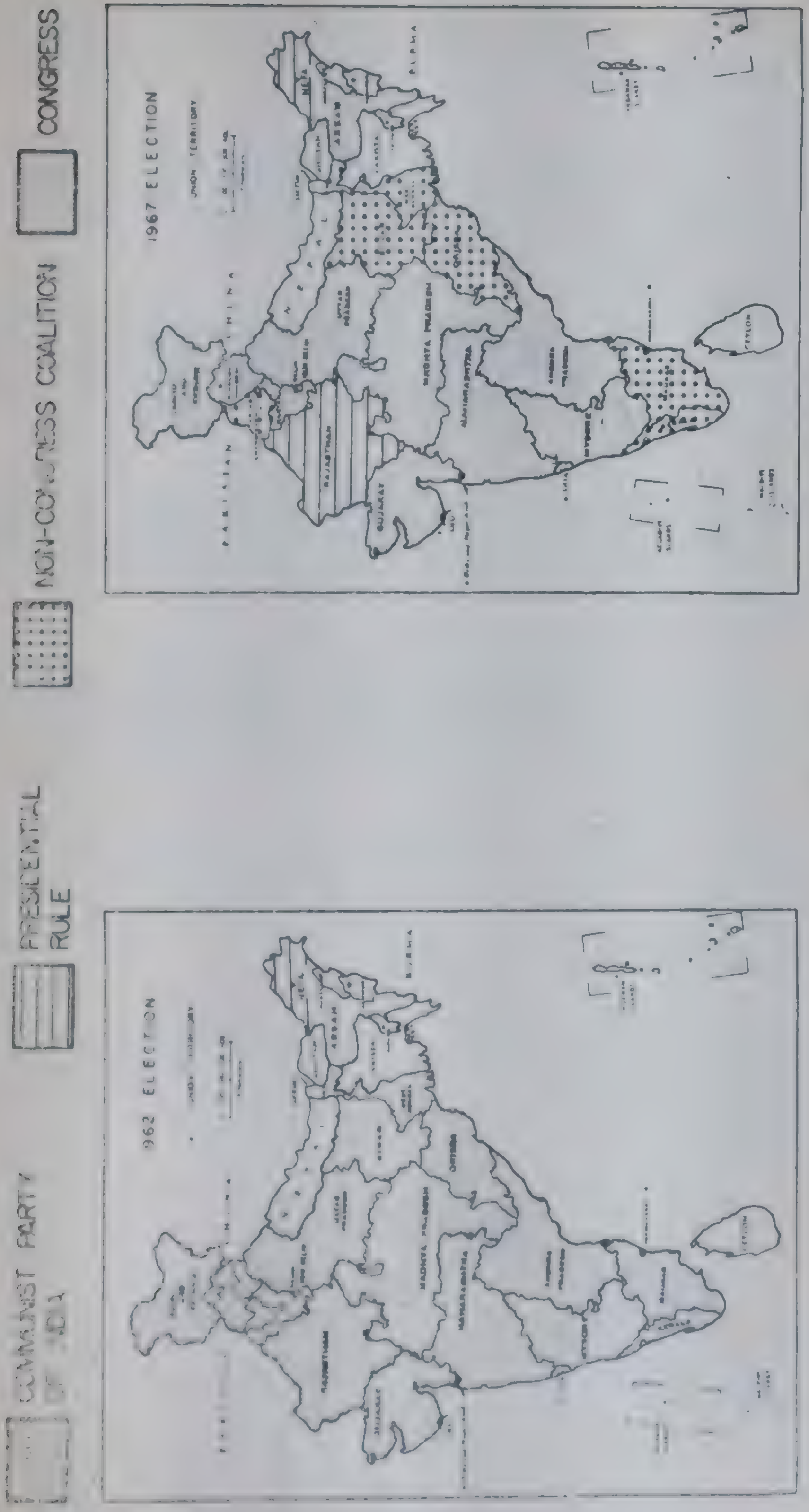

COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA
PRESIDENTIAL RULE
NON-CONGRESS COALITION
CONGRESS
1962 ELECTION
1967 ELECTION
UNION TERRITORY
PAKISTAN
CHINA
NEPAL
BURMA
CEYLON
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
RAJASTHAN
GUJARAT
UTTAR PRADESH
MADHYA PRADESH
MAHARASHTRA
ANDHRA PRADESH
MYSORE
MADRAS
KERALA
BIHAR
ORISSA
WEST BENGAL
ASSAM
NEFA
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS
LACCADIVE ISLANDS

FIG. 28

TABLE 14

GENERAL ELECTION 1957: VIDHAN SABHAS

States	*Total No. of Contested Seats*	*Total No. of Valid Votes Polled*	*Number and Percentage of Valid Votes Polled by Parties*				
			Congress	*P.S.P.*	*Communist*	*Jana Sangh*	*Other Parties and Independents**
Andhra Pradesh**	101	3,603,585	1,707,364 (47.37)	203,453 (5.64)	***	5,809 (0.16)	1,686,959 (46.79)
Assam	101	2,523,970	1,321,367 (52.35)	321,569 (12.75)	204,342 (8.10)		676,692 (26.80)
Bihar	318	10,585,421	4,436,145 (41.90)	1,718,413 (16.20)	545,577 (5.10)	108,188 (1.10)	377,098 (35.68)
Bombay	393	16,712,160	8,131,604 (48.66)	1,498,700 (8.97)	607,383 (3.63)	260,826 (1.56)	6,213,647 (37.18)
Kerala	125	5,837,577	2,209,251 (37.84)	628,261 (10.76)	2,059,547 (35.28)		940,518 (16.09)
Madhya Pradesh	279	7,408,768	3,691,999 (49.83)	976,020 (13.18)	120,549 (1.63)	733,315 (9.89)	1,886,885 (25.47)
Madras	202	11,130,996	5,046,576 (45.34)	293,778 (2.64)	823,583 (7.40)		4,967,060 (44.62)

Mysore	200	6,420,159	3,343,839 (52.08)	902,373 (14.05)	123,403 (1.92)	36,084 (1.37)	1,964,460 (30.58)
Orissa	139	4,255,915	1,628,187 (38.21)	442,508 (10.39)	357,659 (8.39)		1,827,561 (42.94)
Punjab	153	7,603,890	3,612,709 (47.51)	94,564 (1.25)	1,030,898 (13.56)	654,395 (8.60)	2,211,324 (29.08)
Rajasthan	171	4,746,461	2,141,924 (45.20)	117,532 (2.40)	143,547 (3.00)	263,443 (5.52)	2,080,015 (43.90)
Uttar Pradesh	425	21,918,606	9,298,382 (42.42)	3,170,865 (14.47)	840,348 (3.83)	2,157,883 (9.84)	6,451,128 (29.44)
West Bengal	251	10,469,803	4,830,998 (46.14)	1,031,392 (9.85)	1,865,106 (17.82)	102,477 (0.98)	2,639,830 (25.21)
Total	2,858		51,400,345 (45.49)	11,399,428 (10.07)	8,721,941 (7.70)	4,372,420 (4.03)	37,323,177 (32.97)

* Other parties include People's Democratic Front, Scheduled Castes Federation and Peasants & Workers Party.

** Only Telengana area of Andhra Pradesh went to the Poll.

*** CPI entered elections as a part of People's Democratic Front which contested 63 seats and had won 22 of them.

Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras and Kerala. Non-Congress coalition governments were formed in Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, Punjab, Madras and Kerala (Table 16 and Fig. 28). Temporarily presidential rule was proclaimed in Rajasthan, but on April 26, 1967, the Congress Party won majority support and formed the government. The 1967 elections demonstrated that the Jana Sangh Party has little or no influence in the south, east and west. In its home state of Maharashtra it secured only four seats, although 165 candidates contested in the elections. Out of 1,567 Jana Sangh candidates, only 264 won state assembly seats securing 8.75 per cent of the votes, even with the support of princes in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh. The Jana Sangh emerged as the main opposition party in Haryana, Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh, and it captured the Municipal Corporation of Delhi. It gained strength in Bihar, Rajasthan, Punjab and Himachal Pradesh.

The second most important party, the Swatantra, formed a government in Orissa in coalition with the Jana Sangh. It became the largest party in Andhra Pradesh, Rajasthan and Gujarat, and secured seats in Madras, Mysore and Uttar Pradesh.

Other important parties were the Communist Party of India with its Chinese branch. It formed coalition governments in Kerala and West Bengal. The Samyukta Socialist Party became the main opposition party in Bihar. The DMK in Madras became the most powerful regional party in India. All the previous Congress ministers were defeated except the Minister of Information. the DMK candidates defeated every union minister and deputy minister by large margins.[10] Other successful local and regional parties were the Akali Dal in Punjab, the All-Party Hill Leaders Conference in Assam, the National Conference in Jammu and Kashmir and the Peasant and Workers Party in Maharashtra. Significantly, in the nation as a whole, no opposition party won more than 10 per cent of the total votes, and the strength of each such party was confined to a few states or even to a single state. An important fact of the fourth General Election in the state

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[10] S. K. S. Nathan, "The DMK and the Politics of Tamilnadu," *Economic and Political Weekly*, II, No. 48 (December 9, 1967), p. 2137.

TABLE 16

ALLOCATION OF SEATS AND STRENGTH OF PARTIES IN STATE LEGISLATURES*

		Legislative Assembly											
State Union Territory	*No. of Seats in the Legislative Council*	*No. of Seats*	*Congress*	*Swatantra*	*Communist*	*Communist (Marxist)*	*Jana Sangh*	*Praja Socialist*	*Samyukta Socialist*	*Republican*	*Other Parties***	*Independents*	*Total*
Andhra Pradesh	90	287	165	29	11	9	3	—	1	1	—	68	287
Assam	—	126	74	2	7	—	—	5	4	—	9	25	125
Bihar	96	318	128	3	24	4	26	18	68	1	13	33	318
Gujarat	—	168	93	66	—	—	1	3	—	—	—	5	168
Haryana	—	81	48	3	—	—	12	—	—	2	—	16	81
Jammu & Kashmir	—	75	61	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	8	3	75
Kerala	—	133	9	—	19	52	—	—	19	—	19	15	133
Madhya Pradesh	90	296	167	7	1	—	78	9	10	—	—	24	296
Madras (Tamil Nadu)	63	234	50	20	2	11	—	4	2	—	138	7	234
Maharashtra	78	270	203	—	10	1	4	8	4	5	19	16	270
Mysore	63	216	126	16	1	1	4	20	6	1	—	41	216
Nagaland	—	46	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	44	2	46
Orissa	—	140	31	49	7	1	—	21	2	—	26	3	140
Punjab	40	104	47	—	5	3	9	—	1	3	26	10	104
Rajasthan	—	184	89	48	1	—	22	—	8	—	—	16	184
Uttar Pradesh	108	425	199	12	13	1	98	11	44	10	—	37	425

TABLE 16—(*Continued*)

		Legislative Assembly											
State/Union Territory	*No. of Seats in the Legislative Council*	*No. of Seats*	*Congress*	*Swatantra*	*Communist*	*Communist (Marxist)*	*Jana Sangh*	*Praja Socialist*	*Samyukta Socialist*	*Republican*	*Other Parties***	*Independents*	*Total*
West Bengal	75	280	127	1	16	43	1	7	7	—	47	31	280
Delhi	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Goa, Daman & Diu	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	28	2	30
Himachal Pradesh	—	60	34	1	2	—	7	—	—	—	—	16	60
Manipur	—	30	16	—	1	—	—	—	4	—	—	9	30
Pondicherry	—	30	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	30
Tripura	—	30	27	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	30
Total	703	3,563	1,716	257	121	128	268	106	180	23	381	383	3,562
Percentage of Votes***			40.10	6.82	4.23	4.60	8.75	3.35	5.12	1.56	9.00	15.26	

* Figures are based on the results of the 1967 General Elections except in the case of Nagaland and Pondicherry where these relate to the results of elections held in February 1964 and August 1964.

** Other parties include: Assam: All Party Hill Leaders' Conference 9 (0.08%); Jammu and Kashmir National Conference 8; Kerala: Muslim League 14 (0.38%); Kerala Congress 5 (0.34%); Madras: Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam 138 (4.41%); Maharashtra: Peasants and Workers' Party 19 (0.61%); Nagaland: Nationalist Organization 32; Democratic Party of Nagaland 12 (0.14%); West Bengal: Forward Bloc 13; Goa, Daman and Diu: Maharashtravadi Gomantak 16 and United Goans (Sequeira Group) 12; Pondicherry: People's Front 4.

*** Total Percentage of Votes Polled: 60.66.

assemblies, however, was that four Chief Ministers (Bihar, Madras, Punjab and West Bengal) and no less than 52 other Cabinet Ministers were defeated in the 1967 elections. It was nothing short of a major electoral purge of Congress Party leaders.

On the basis of the 1967 elections, the Congress Party formed the governments in Haryana, Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, but the defection of Congressmen resulted in the fall of these governments (Table 17). In addition to the fall of Congress ministries, the coalition ministries in Punjab, Bihar and West Bengal were also toppled. In November 1967 alone, three non-Congress governments were toppled within 24 hours, and presidential rule was proclaimed (Table 17). Thus, before the mid-term elections in February, 1969, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal were under presidential rule, and elsewhere the patterns of government have changed considerably since March, 1967 (Fig. 29).

Mid-term elections were held in West Bengal, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Punjab—all situated in the Gangetic plain. Along with these mid-term elections, there were regular elections in Nagaland and in Pondicherry in February, 1969. Mid-term elections were also conducted in Haryana in May, 1968, where the Congress Party returned to power with 48 seats out of a total of 81. The defectors from the Congress Party who formed the Vishal Haryana Party won five seats, but of their 15 candidates 10 were defeated. Other parties have not fared well. After the major mid-term poll of February, 1969, three of five states were governed by the Congress Party and two by coalition parties (Fig. 29). In Uttar Pradesh, the Congress Party secured 209 seats and formed a government along with the independents (Table 18).

The small parties were eliminated from representation, and the Communist Party suffered heavy losses. The Bhartiya Kranti Dal, organized by Congress defectors, emerged as the second largest party; its strength was greatest in the western districts of Meerut, Agra and Rohilkhand, where it had 61 seats out of a total of 98 in the assembly. The Jana Sangh Party lost 47 seats

TABLE 17

CHANGING POWER POLITICS IN THE VARIOUS STATE ASSEMBLIES SINCE THE FOURTH GENERAL ELECTION, 1967

State	*Type of Ministry after 1967 General Elections*	*Later Changes*	*Present Ministry*
North			
Kashmir	Congress	None	Congress
Punjab	United Front	United Front until November 22, 1967. Minority Government with the Congress support from November 25, 1967, to August 20, 1968. Presidential Rule from August 20, 1968 to February, 1969 mid-term elections.	United Front with major parties, the Akali Dal and the Jana Sangh since February, 1969 mid-term elections.
Haryana	Congress	Congress until March 22, 1967. United Front with the Jana Sangh and the Vishal Haryana Party from March 22, 1967 to November 21, 1967. Presidential Rule from November 21, 1967 to May 20, 1968.	Congress since the mid-term elections, May 1968.
Uttar Pradesh	Congress	Congress until April 1, 1967. United Front-Samyukta Vidhayak Dal from April 3, 1967 to February 25, 1968.	The Samyukta Vidhayak Dal consisting of the Congress (Old), the Bhartiya Kranti Dal, the Jana Sangh, the Swatantra, and the Samyukta Socialist Party since October 18, 1970.

TABLE 17—(*Continued*)

State	*Type of Ministry after 1967 General Elections*	*Later Changes*	*Present Ministry*
North—(*Continued*)			
Uttar Pradesh (*Continued*)	Congress	Presidential Rule from February 28, 1969 to February, 1969 mid-term elections. Congress from February 1969 mid-term elections to February 17, 1970. Presidential Rule from October 2, 1970 to October 18, 1970. United Front with the support of New Congress Party from February 17, 1970 to October 2, 1970. The New Congress was a partner with the Bhartiya Kranti Dal Party.	
Bihar	United Front	United Front until January 25, 1968. United Front of Soshita Dal and the Congress alliance from January 31, 1968 to March 18, 1968. United Front opposition to the Congress and the Soshita Dal from March 21, 1968 to June 25, 1968.	New Congress group with the support of six other parties from February 16, 1970.

TABLE 17—(*Continued*)

State	*Type of Ministry after 1967 General Elections*	*Later Changes*	*Present Ministry*
North—(*Continued*)			
Bihar (*Continued*)		Congress from February 26, 1969 to June 20, 1969.	
		United Front consisting of the Lok Tantrik Congress Dal, the Bhartiya Kranti Dal, the Forward Bloc, the Jharkhand Party, the Soshita Dal and the independent candidates from June 22, 1969 to July 1, 1969.	
	United Front	Presidential Rule from July 1, 1969 to February 16, 1970.	
Rajasthan	Presidential rule	Presidential rule until April 26, 1967.	Congress from April 26, 1967.
Madhya Pradesh	Congress	Congress until July 30, 1967.	Congress from March 26, 1969.
		United Front from July 30, 1967 to March 12, 1969.	
East			
Assam	Congress	None	Congress
Nagaland	Naga National Conference (Congress)	None	Naga National Conference
Tripura	Congress	None	Congress

TABLE 17—(*Continued*)

State	*Type of Ministry after 1967 General Elections*	*Later Changes*	*Present Ministry*
East (*Continued*)			
Manipur	Congress	Congress until October 10, 1967.	United Front consisting of dissident Congress members and the members of all opposition parties since October 11, 1969.
		Presidential rule from October 25, 1967 to February, 1968.	
		Congress from February 19, 1968 to October 10, 1969.	
West Bengal	United Front	United Front with the Communist Party of India with both its factions and the Bangala Congress major partners until November 21, 1967.	Presidential rule since March 19, 1970.
		Progressive Democratic Front with the Congress support from November 21, 1967 to February 20, 1968.	
	United Front	Presidential Rule from February 21, 1968 to February, 1969 mid-term elections.	

TABLE 17—(*Continued*)

State	*Type of Ministry after 1967 General Elections*	*Later Changes*	*Present Ministry*
East			
West Bengal (*Continued*)		United Front with CPI (M), CPI and the Bangala Congress as major partners since February, 1969, mid-term elections.	
Orissa	United Front with the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra alliance.	None	United Front
West			
Gujarat	Congress	None	Congress
Maharashtra	Congress	None	Congress
South			
Mysore	Congress	None	Congress
Andhra Pradesh	Congress	None	Congress
Madras	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam	None	DMK
Kerala	United Front CPI and CPI (M) as major partners.	United Front consisting of CPI and CPI (M) as major partners until October 24, 1969. United Front with CPI, Muslim League and Kerala Congress from November, 1969 to August 1, 1970. Presidential Rule from August 4, 1970 to October 4, 1970.	United Front with CPI, the Congress (R), Muslim League as major partners since October 4, 1970.
Pondicherry	Congress	Congress until February, 1969.	DMK from the mid-term elections, February, 1969.

TABLE 18

MID-TERM ELECTIONS OF FEBRUARY, 1969

	Uttar Pradesh	*Punjab*	*Bihar*	*West Bengal*	*Nagaland*	*Pondicherry*	*Haryana***
Total Seats	425	104	318	280	52	30	81
Seats Filled	423	103	315	280	52	30	81
Congress	209	38	118	55	22*	10	48
Jana Sangh	49	8	34	—	—	—	7
Swatantra	5	1	3	—	—	—	2
Communist Party of India	4	3	25	30	—	3	—
Communist Party (M)	1	2	3	80	—	—	—
Praja Socialist Party	3	1	17	5	—	—	—
Samyukta Socialist Party	33	2	51	9	—	—	—
Bhartiya Kranti Dal	99	—	6	—	—	—	1
Akali Dal	—	43	—	—	—	—	—
Bangala Congress	—	—	—	33	—	—	—
DMK	—	—	—	—	—	15	—
United Front (Nagaland)	—	—	—	—	10	—	—

TABLE 18—(*Continued*)

	Uttar Pradesh	*Punjab*	*Bihar*	*West Bengal*	*Nagaland*	*Pondicherry*	*Haryana***
Other Parties	2	1	39	57	—	—	14
Independents	18	4	19	11	8	2	9

* Naga Nationalist Organization (ideologically similar to the Congress Party of India).

** The mid-term elections took place on May 12 and 14, 1968, in Haryana.

NOTE: Other Parties in Bihar include Janta (14), Lok Tantrik Congress (8), Hul Jharkhand (10), Soshita Dal (6), and Forward Bloc (1).

Other Parties in West Bengal include Forward Bloc (22), Revolutionary Socialist Party (12), Lok Sevak Sangh (4), Gorkha League (4), Socialist Unity Centre (7), Workers' Party (2), Revolutionary Communist Party of India (2), Progressive Muslim League (3), and Indian National Democratic Front (1).

Other Parties in Haryana include Vishal Haryana Party (13), and Republican Party (1).

and the Samyukta Socialist Party 11. In Bihar the Congress Party secured the largest number of votes and seats, and formed the ministry with the help of the Janta Party and the independents. In Nagaland, the Naga National Organization (Congress-oriented) won 22 out of the 40 seats in the assembly, the United Front 10, and the independents 8. The rest of the 12 members were to be nominated from the Tungsang district council.

In Punjab Assembly, the Akali Dal secured 43 seats in the mid-term election whereas in the 1967 elections it won only 26 seats. The party vote, however, had increased by only 4.8 per cent. The Congress Party gained 38 seats as compared with 48 in 1967, but increased its vote by 1.82 per cent. The Malwa area on the left bank of the Sutlej River has weakened the Congress Party's stronghold. The Congress lost all seats in the Patiala district, and it also lost control of Amritsar and the Gurdaspur districts of the western part of the state. It is significant to note that all of the Republican Party candidates (32) lost their deposits, and most of the defectors as well as the old members of the house were defeated.

In West Bengal, the 12-party united front won 218 seats out of 280, with the lion's share of 110 won by the Communist Party of India and its Chinese faction. The Congress Party won only 55 seats (127 in 1967) and its faction known as the Bangala Congress 33. The mid-term election was fought around the straight issues of the Congress Party versus the United Front. The Swatantra and the Jana Sangh, the first and second strongest opposition parties in the nation, were unable to secure a single seat in West Bengal. Only two of the independent candidates were returned. The progressive Muslim League has been able to survive the tide against communalism and sectarianism somewhat better, for three of its nominees have been returned.[11]

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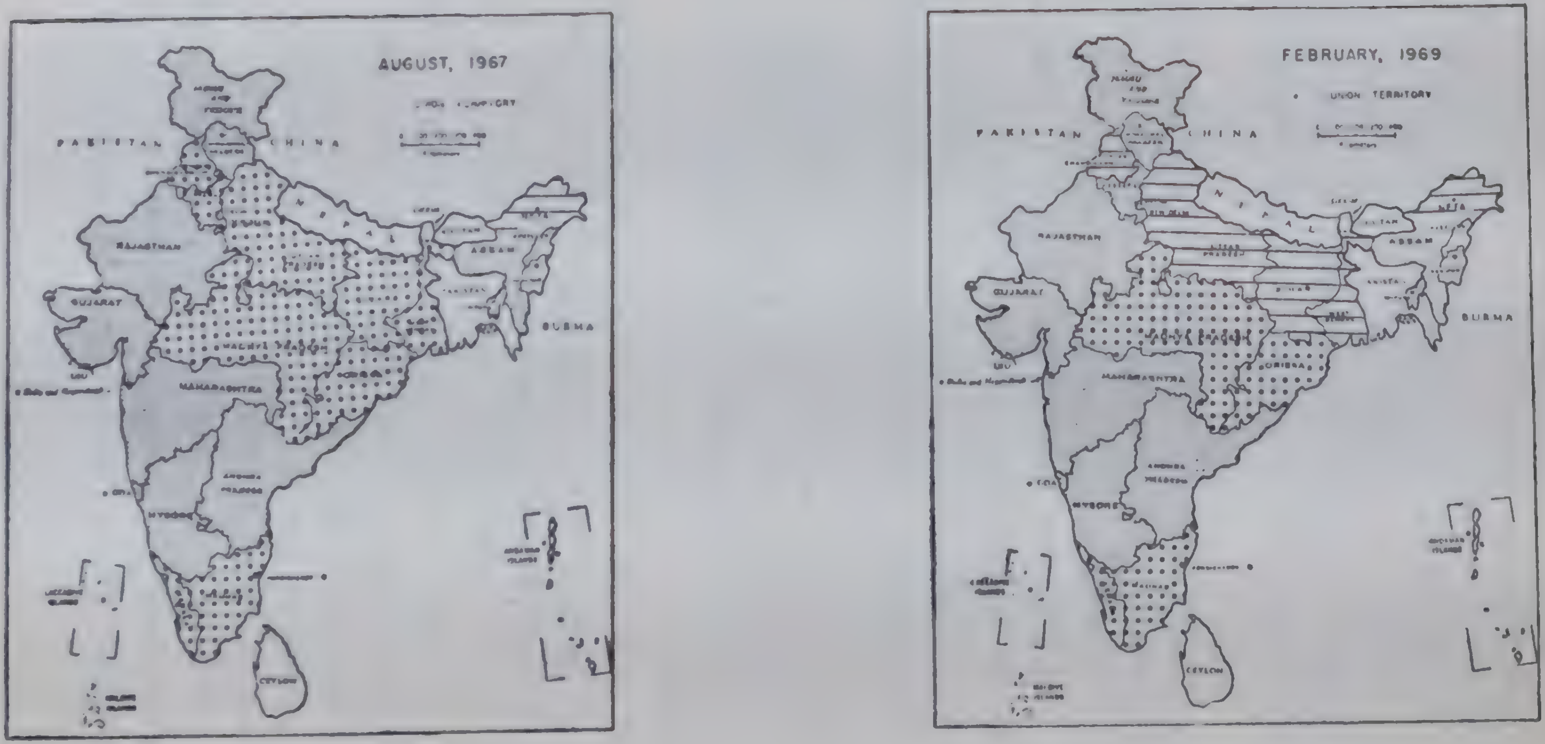
[11] "Many Bengal Parties Share Debacle with Congress," *The Times of India* (Bombay), Sunday, February 16, 1969, p. 11.

CHANGING PATTERN OF STATE ASSEMBLIES

From 1967 to the Present


AUGUST, 1967
PAKISTAN
CHINA
NEPAL
RAJASTHAN
GUJARAT
MADHYA PRADESH
MAHARASHTRA
ORISSA
ASSAM
BURMA
ANDHRA PRADESH
MYSORE
CEYLON
FEBRUARY, 1969
UNION TERRITORY
JAMMU AND KASHMIR
PAKISTAN
CHINA
NEPAL
RAJASTHAN
GUJARAT
UTTAR PRADESH
BIHAR
ASSAM
BURMA
MADHYA PRADESH
ORISSA
MAHARASHTRA
ANDHRA PRADESH
GOA
MYSORE
MADRAS
CEYLON

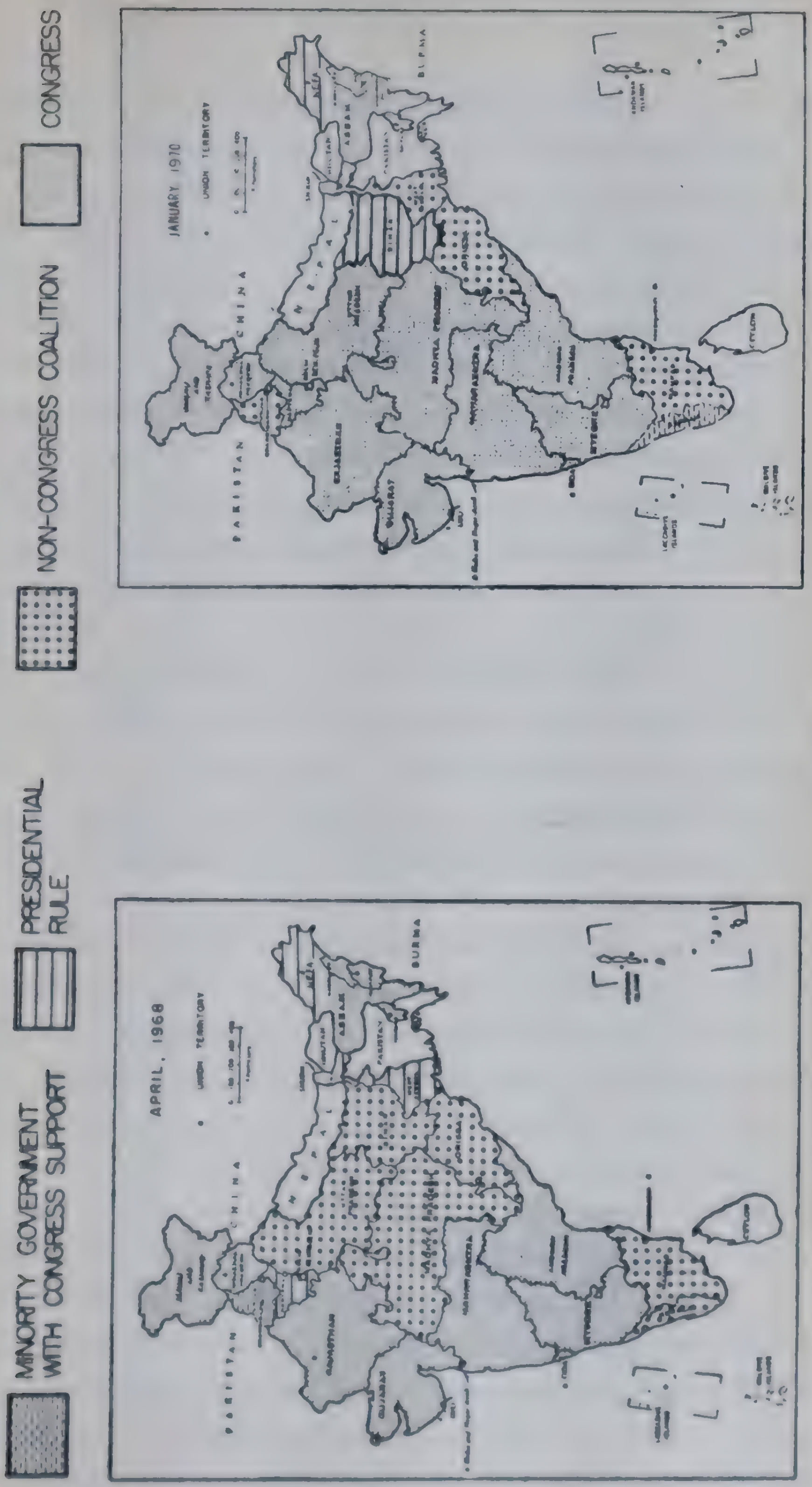

MINORITY GOVERNMENT WITH CONGRESS SUPPORT
PRESIDENTIAL RULE
NON-CONGRESS COALITION
CONGRESS
APRIL, 1968
JANUARY 1970
UNION TERRITORY
PAKISTAN
CHINA
NEPAL
BURMA
CEYLON
ASSAM
ORISSA
MADHYA PRADESH
MAHARASHTRA
RAJASTHAN
GUJARAT
MYSORE
LACCADIVE ISLANDS

FIG. 29

ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL PATTERNS

On the basis of the first three General Elections the Congress Party controlled the Lok Sabha and all the state assemblies except in Kerala. The top freedom fighters easily won the first General Election. The rather strong position of the Communist Party of India in the south was mostly due to the weak organization of the Congress Party there and the regional fear of domination by the northern plains people. The reason for the large vote of the independent candidates was that many of the Indian voters had avoided affiliation with any party and were unaware of the existing parties' future programmes. Moreover, the illiterate voters had no knowledge of the political performance of the various parties, and hence they simply voted for the candidates whom they knew best.

The second General Election was again an easy win because the Congress Party had acceded to the widespread demand for reorganization of the states on a linguistic basis. The losses of Congress and especially the boosting of Communist strength in Kerala, however, can be attributed to the reorganization of the states. The princely area of Travancore-Cochin was ceded to Madras, where the Congress Party was already strongest and where the Communists had practically no influence. Malabar, now a part of Kerala, was the Communist stronghold. Moreover, in both the first and second General Elections the Communists took advantage of the regional caste lobbies in the south, where the numerous Kammas and Reddies in Andhra Pradesh loomed large within homogeneous linguistic groups. Their power in the delta region, where landless labourers were in the majority (33 per cent of the agricultural population), decreased in the third General Election due to the selection of a Congress Harijan Chief Minister who was from a lower caste of landless labourers.

By the time of the third General Election the bifurcation of Bombay into Gujarat and Maharashtra had occurred; Goa, Daman and Diu had become a part of India, and Nagaland had been formed as a separate state. The bifurcation of the state of Bombay brought about a decline in the linguistic movement in that region and a substantial rise in the Congress Party's strength. The integration of Goa boosted the morale of the country and the nationwide strength of the Congress Party. The poor performance of the Congress Party in the Gangetic plain can be attributed to factionalism within the party. Many Congressmen openly gave support to opposition candidates. The parliamentary election was less affected, however, because opposition candidates often bargained for legislative assembly seats. Moreover, virtually everywhere there was voter concern about local rather than national affairs. Another important cause of Congress victory was the lack of understanding among the different Opposition parties, which had often led to division of the votes of the Opposition and thus to a larger measure of success of the Congress candidates for the Lok Sabha.

The changing patterns in the 1967 elections had several implications for the nation. As a result of these elections the Congress Party was pushed out of power in the entire Ganges Valley, from Punjab to Bengal. In Punjab, Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal, the Congress Party was displaced by either dissident groups of the Congress Party or by coalition governments. The Congress Party retained its hold on the food-surplus areas of Andhra Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh (where later on ministries temporarily collapsed due to defections), and on the three neighbouring states of Gujarat, Mysore and Maharashtra which have a reasonably contented peasantry.

CAUSES OF THE DEFEAT OF THE CONGRESS PARTY

There were several causes for the Congress Party's defeat in the 1967 elections. Chronic inflation, continually rising prices, the recurring shortage of essential commodities, famine conditions in many parts of the country, stagnation in industrial activity and the uneasy outlook for the future—all bred resentment and hostility among various segments of the voting community. The

Central Government employees, the industrial workers in Bombay and Calcutta, the lower middle-class families in Kerala and Madras and the starving peasants in Bihar and Rajasthan were all concerned about food shortages, inflation and the general atmosphere of violence.

The most important issues facing the nation, those affecting the survival of India as a democratic state, such as economic development, national security and foreign policy, seemed hardly to figure at all in the minds of the voters.[12] Even China and Pakistan were almost totally ignored. In short, the masses were no longer willing to tolerate poverty and disparity, and to their minds socio-economic and political changes were necessary. In the election campaign, local and personal grievances rather than major national issues predominated. *The Times of India* wrote on the eve of the 1967 elections that "there are no all-India issues as such—there are only all-India grievances."[13] In Madras the principal issue was anti-Hindi feeling, in Punjab the question of Punjabi Suba and the status of Chandigarh were at issue, in Bihar and Rajasthan food scarcity was uppermost in the minds of the electorate in Kerala the problem of rice distribution was foremost, and in Orissa the development of a steel mill assumed great significance. Elsewhere still other important local issues occupied the attention of the electorate.

FACTIONALISM IN CONGRESS

An important contributor to the Congress Party's defeat was internal fighting and factionalism. The party was accused of an unconcealed passion for power, position and wealth; of a complete loss of its former sense of idealism; of an indulgent attitude toward corruption; of an unprincipled capacity for compromise; and of general inefficiency in its government machinery. Disaffection from the Congress Party, then, was often caused by its own internal disruption rather than by any real failure of policy. The nation was felt to be overburdened with an army of unemployed selfish politicians, an army much more costly than an army of occupation. A national leader with a commanding personality like Nehru did not exist, and two new Prime Ministers followed him in quick succession. Two armed clashes with Pakistan and two successive years of drought made the political situation even more difficult for the Congress Party. A large portion of the voters nursed grudges against the Congress Party, which appears to have been corrupt in some states and inept virtually in all. In 1967 election results generally reflected a protest against the Congress Party rather than an endorsement of the Opposition parties. No all-India party could successfully challenge the Congress Party, but regional parties such as those of the Communists in Kerala, the DMK in Madras, the Swatantra in Gujarat, Rajasthan and Orissa, and the Jana Sangh in Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Delhi could and did challenge the Congress Party.

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[12] Norman D. Palmer, "India's Fourth General Elections," *Asian Survey*, VII, No. 5 (May, 1967), p. 287.

[13] *The Times of India* (Bombay), February 15, 1967, p. 1.

UNITY AMONG THE OPPOSITION PARTIES

An important cause for the changing distribution pattern of the political parties was the capacity of the Opposition parties to form a coalition for the purpose of defeating the Congress Party. In the previous three elections the non-Congress votes were split among a number of Opposition candidates, and as a result the Congress Party emerged as the majority party. On the other hand, in the fourth General Election the Opposition parties often joined together and backed one candidate against the Congress candidate. There was, therefore, no split in the non-Congress votes, and Congress was defeated in many states. The coalition in West Bengal was formed by uniting 14 different parties; followers of Gandhiji, Netaji (Subhas Chandra Bose, a national hero of the freedom struggle), Mao and even Liu came together as strange bedfellows in the United Front.[14] In Kerala the Muslim League and the Communists, and the Samyukta Socialist Parties joined forces; and in Punjab the

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[14] Subimal Pal, "The Leftist Alliance in West Bengal," *The Indian Political Science Review, Special Issue : Indian Elections 1967*, I, Nos. 3 and 4 (April-October, 1967) p. 189.

Jana Sangh Party and the Akali Dal Party formed a coalition government. In each situation the coalition members, although representing opposing ideologies, used their common hate for the Congress Party as a factor of unity. Some coalition governments were formed by parties with similar ideologies such as the rightist parties in Orissa (the Jana Sangh and the Swatantra), and the leftists in Kerala. The greatest likelihood of success in a coalition government is when like-minded parties, similar in their ideologies, are brought together.

DEFECTION OF THE LEGISLATORS FROM THE CONGRESS PARTY

Recently defections from the Congress Party have occurred all over the country, and Congressmen have left the party in large numbers. In this new phenomenon of defection, nearly two-thirds of the Opposition leaders have at one time or another been associated with the Congress Party.[15] The party nominations disappointed some candidates, and supporters of these candidates then worked against the official Congress nominees, forming rival groups or joining Opposition parties. Nearly 1,000 Congress Party members opposed Congress candidates in the nomination. Because of party defections, especially from the Congress Party to Opposition parties, the stability of the new ministries was threatened, particularly in the north. Four leading Congress Ministries were brought down by dissident Congressmen. The leaders of dissident groups in Haryana, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal and Punjab secured the post of Chief Minister, and most of their followers obtained cabinet posts. In Punjab bribery was rampant. In July, 1967, Mr Gurnam Singh's government succeeded in getting five Congressmen to defect to his coalition by offering all of them ministerial posts. On the other hand, defectors to the Congress Party in Rajasthan included 13 members of Swatantra, two members of the Jana Sangh and five independents.[16]

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[15] Gopal Krishna, "Political Leaders : Party Leadership," in *Asian Political System*, edited by Betty B. Burch and Allan B. Cole (Princeton, New Jersey : D. Van Nostrand Company Inc., 1968), p. 259.

[16] *The Hindu Weekly Review* (Madras), December 18, 1967, p. 16.

The bribing of legislators by offering them money or power unfortunately has become an integral part of Indian politics. The principle that defection pays off has done considerable harm by creating an atmosphere of political instability. It weakens the people's faith in democracy and lowers the prestige of politicians and legislators in the eyes of the general public. Most recent defections have apparently occurred for power rather than for principle or ideology; large-size cabinets in which defectors secure the greatest number of posts have been unavoidable. There seems to have been little public interest in these defections.

Altogether a total of nine per cent of the legislators (314 out of 3,447) had changed their loyalties by the time of the mid-term election, and the practice has increased considerably since October, 1967. For example, in Bihar 85 legislators have defected at one time or another. Two new parties have been organized by defectors in that state. In Haryana 37 of the 79 members of the legislative assembly have changed affiliations, and four of them have done so four times each. In Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh and West Bengal defection has overthrown the ministries. Northern India represents the highest index of political instability. Only Kashmir has been able to maintain ministerial stability. No defections have occurred in Madras, Kerala and Maharashtra, and only one in each of Mysore, Kashmir and Orissa.

The defectors frequently have several grievances in common; for example, in Haryana the socio-economically underprivileged Jat-Ahir groups have formed a group. In Uttar Pradesh also, the Jat-Ahir groups combined to oppose the Brahmin-Banya group of C.B. Gupta. In Madhya Pradesh the lower castes revolted against the Brahmin-Marwari group of D.P. Misra, and in Bihar the lower caste Yadvas formed a group against the high caste Brahmin-Kayasthas. In Madras and Maharashtra the revolt was against the Brahmins, and in Punjab the defection was by Akali extremists.

Opposition by the Youth

An important element in the changed pattern after the fourth General Election was the revolt of youth against the existing government. Half of the total electorate of 250,681,530 was under 35 years of age, and these included 35,000,000 youths who were not old enough to vote in the 1962 elections.[17] The young people who had just acquired the franchise for the first time had already witnessed the India-China war of 1962, two wars with Pakistan, the food scarcity of 1965-66, factionalism in Congress during the election of the new Prime Ministers, youth unemployment and direct conflicts with authority on university campuses in Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Kerala, West Bengal and other states. All of these observations served to antagonize them against the Congress Party. The votes of most young people, including the student communities, clearly opposed the Congress Party. In West Bengal a large number of seats were captured by the Communists in the urban areas, primarily through the support of unemployed educated young people. In Madras a 26-year old student defeated a nationally famous Congress leader. Even within the Congress Party younger leaders were favoured. Among the 21 to 35 age group, including those who are near literates and belong to the lower-income class, have definitely swung away from the Congress Party.

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION BY EX-PRINCES

Further opposition to the Congress Party developed as a result of the more active and direct participation of former princes, big businessmen, former ICS (Indian Civil Servants) officers, and high-ranking military officers, as evidenced in Orissa, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Punjab and Madhya Pradesh. In these states the illiterate older voters manifested strong feelings of allegiance to the former princes, and the young voters who were disgusted with the performance of the Congress Party also voted for the princes in protest. The overwhelming defeat of the Congress candidates from Madhya Bharat and Vindhya Pradesh (former princely states now in Madhya Pradesh), Rajasthan (mostly an area of former princely states), PEPSU (former princely state now in Punjab), Saurashtra (now in Gujarat), and the hilly areas of interior Orissa was unavoidable. The Congress Party never successfully established itself in the erstwhile princely states. In the outer regions of the former princely states the Congress did not develop grass-roots control, and not one Congress candidate was returned from the eight northern districts forming the old Gwalior State, now in Madhya Pradesh. Almost all the Opposition candidates were those supported by the Maharani.[18] The influence and financial backing of the native princes put the Congress Party into immense difficulty in their respective areas.

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[17] Paul Wallace, "India: The Dispersion of Political Power," *Asian Survey*, VIII, No. 2 (February, 1968) p. 88.

The Home Minister of India, Mr Y. B. Chavan, announced the government's decision on December 25, 1969, to amend the Constitution to abolish privy purses of the princes. The privy purses of the princes accounted for Rs. 480,000,000 per year. Neither the Old nor New Congress could find a champion for privy purses. Now the princes will be more hostile towards the New Congress that has snatched their purses money. Dr Karan Singh, the Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation (former princely ruler of Jammu and Kashmir) had already donated his two palaces for educational institutions and advised other brothers to act accordingly. Even before the government's announcement, Syed Zulfiquar Ali Khan ex-ruler of Ramgarh declared that he was giving up his title of Nawabzada and related privileges, because these privileges are contrary to the spirit of the democratic way of life. At present he is a member of Parliament. Very few princes will follow Dr Karan Singh and Mr Khan's generosity, but on the contrary they may mount strong opposition for the New Congress. As a result, the New Congress will have to act wisely and try to keep the masses contented as well as happy.

CASTE AND COMMUNALISM

Caste and communalism also influenced the party performance in the fourth General Election. For example, Hindus form 61.6 per cent of the total Kerala population, Christians 10.8 per cent, and Muslims 17.4 per cent. All three of these groups are involved in a struggle for power in the state. The Hindus are socially and politically divided among the untouchables, the low-caste Ezhavas, the middle-caste Nairs and the Brahmins.[19] The Ezhavas favour the Communists, while the Nairs and the Christians favour the Congress Party. The Ezhavas are greater in number than the other Hindu groups, a fact which assisted in the Communist victory. The main political cleavage in Kerala is between people with property and those of without property; these belong to different political parties and at the same time higher and lower castes respectively. When the people join the Communist Party, they have greater allegiance to it than to their caste or communal association.

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[18] "Unique Feature of Polling," *The Hindu Weekly Review* (Madras), February 13, 1967, p. 4.

The Muslim League voted against the Congress Party for the first time in 1967 and assisted the Communists in Kerala. To satisfy the Muslim League a new district has been formed containing the major part of the Muslim population in Kerala. The Muslim candidates have increased their share of the total votes polled in successive national elections. In West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh the Muslim voters have sided with the left rather than with the Congress Party. In fact, the Muslim voting pattern in earlier elections did not follow communal lines, nor were Muslim legislators always elected solely on the basis of support within the Muslim community.[20] Other caste and communal groups which were successful in the fourth General Election all over India were the anti-Brahmin group in Madras (the DMK) and Maharashtra (Maratha anti-Brahmin organization), the Yadvas (anti-Brahmin and Kayastha) in Bihar, the Sikhs in Punjab (the Akali Dal), the Jat-Ahir group in Haryana and Uttar Pradesh, and the Jat group (anti-Brahmin-Banya) in Rajasthan.

Although there has been a decrease in the influence of caste considerations in voting patterns among all groups, it is evident that people of the higher-income group and urban dwellers are less inclined to vote for a candidate of their own caste than are the rural and lower caste voters.[21] The urban and high-income groups voted for party candidates rather than on the basis of caste. In rural areas the low castes are commonly guided by their caste leaders, but this practice changed in the fourth General Election when the voters did not always vote for the caste candidates. In general, caste considerations differ in importance in voting behaviour in various regions; for example, in West Bengal caste is no longer a political factor in voting. In Assam and Orissa the significance of caste as a political factor is peripheral, but in the Madras, Kerala and Maharashtra the caste factor is still strong. The Communists follow the caste lobbies very closely and exploit caste frictions to their advantage. This was evident in Kerala where the friction between Nairs, Brahmins and Ezhavas gave the Communists an easy victory in 1967. In the Jhunjhunu District of Rajasthan the Communists won votes as Jats, not as Communists. In summary, it seems fair to say that the fourth General Election has indicated that political competition is undermining caste solidarity, and that a single caste no longer forms the basis of power for any party in India. Caste often plays a part, particularly at local or municipal level, but it will usually be one factor among many, and only rarely the decisive one. The role of the caste at the national level is insignificant or non-existent. Political organization and leadership constantly cut across existing loyalties, and cleavages of caste create new loyalties in political association.

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[19] Vincent C. Watson, "Communal Politics in India and United States," *Political Science Review* V, No. 2 (October, 1966), p. 217.

[20] Paul Brass, *Factional Politics in an Indian State : The Congress Party in Uttar Pradesh* (Berkeley : University of California Press, 1965), p. 207.

The Congress Party also does not command substantial support among the tribal people of India. It is rapidly losing the support of minorities, such as Muslims, Sikhs and Christians, and of the backward classes. These minorities feel that the Congress Party has become unable to protect their interests.

LINGUISTIC AND REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

Linguistic and regional disparities greatly affected the outcome of the 1967 elections. In the Hindi heartland, the Gangetic plain of the north, the Jana Sangh Party has emerged as a strong political force, although in the east, west and south it could not achieve much success because of its Hindi orientation. While linguistic feeling may be subsiding, regional rivalries are increasing steadily. Only in Madras has the linguistic issue worked against the Congress Party, but here it has helped to establish the new regime of the Tamil Party (the DMK). The record of achievement of the Congress Party in Madras has been outstanding. As Bawa puts it: "Madras is probably the one state where Congress has done some good."[22] The administration in Madras was a well-knit team, and there was no charge of corruption against any of the ministers. It is obvious that north-south regional feeling is still very strong among the voters.

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[21] Personal experience of the author as a Returning Officer in the Panchayat election in Bharatpur District, Rajasthan, in 1960 and as Presiding Officer in the third General Election in Ajmer District, Rajasthan.

RURAL-URBAN DISPARITY

Although linguistic and regional feeling are prevalent in certain areas, rural-urban voting disparities are obvious over most of the country. In rural areas neither the large landowners, now outlawed in most of the states, nor the landless labourers played a decisive role in the outcome of the election, the former because their power has been limited by recent legislation and the latter because they are often economically dependent upon others.[23] The self-cultivating landowners, on the other hand, played a prominent role in the elections, for any change in the administration can directly or indirectly affect them economically. In general, the Congress Party fared far better in 1967 in rural areas than in urban areas. The Jana Sangh Party did well in the urban areas of Punjab and other states in the north, but in Punjab the Akalis received a large number of votes in the rural areas. In West Bengal, the Congress Party did better in rural areas than in urban areas, especially in metropolitan Calcutta where the Communists achieved great success. But the Congress Party lost heavily even in rural areas in the mid-term election, primarily because of the

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[22] Noorjahan Bawa, "The Elections in Madras," *The Indian Political Science Review, Special Issue: Indian Elections, 1967*, Nos. 3 and 4 (April-October, 1967), p. 221.

[23] Myron Weiner and Rajni Kothari, *Indian Voting Behaviour: Studies of the 1962 General Elections* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1965).

Communist tactic of fomenting class conflicts. Landless peasants were encouraged by the Communist government in West Bengal to seize farmland in an area called Naxalbari, and some of the farmers actively participated in this violent act. The Communists also had great success with Bengali middle-class families and lower-class industrial labourers.

West Bengal has the highest proportion of university students among all the Indian states and the second highest literacy rate. The unemployed educated students with degrees but no jobs faced an unbearable situation, and in their frustration they voted against the Congress Party. In the 1969 mid-term elections in West Bengal the Communists acquired a large number of seats in the rural areas due to the Naxalbari incident, and from the urban industrial workers due to the *Gherao* conflict (workers shutting management personnel into their offices).

In essence, no single all-India voting pattern emerged; regional and local parties and issues predominated in the fourth General Election. The voting pattern was affected by several factors, among them the active participation of young students and ex-princes, the defection of Congress legislators from various state Congress governments, the shifting of loyalties by the minority groups, by caste and communalism, and by the linguistic issue. In some parts of the country a combination of factors affected the voting pattern. In the northern plains (Rajasthan, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Haryana) the caste factor was probably predominant; in Rajasthan Madhya Pradesh, Punjab and Gujarat it was the ex-princes; in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh it was the dissatisfied youth; and in West Bengal it was labour, rural and urban disparities, and factionalism within the Congress Party. Party defections throughout the north have created instability in the area. On the other hand, in the south different factors were at work. For example, although language was not an issue in the north, it was an important matter in the south. Caste considerations, the distribution of rice, factionalism in the Congress and the restless youth were major factors in Kerala and Madras. Thus, the only nationwide factor responsible for the Congress losses was the widespread dissatisfaction with the Congress Party among the several opposition parties.

CENTRE-STATE RELATIONS

Centre-state relations have become more important due to the formation of coalition governments in several states particularly in West Bengal where a mix-up of groups, splinters and parties having contrasting ideologies formed a government. These splinter groups oppose any reformative proposal advanced by other groups in the coalition. The recent split in the Congress Party also made the centre-state relations complicated. India's political history since independence shows that the monopoly of power enjoyed by the Congress Party for the last 22 years is the real cause for concentration of power at the centre rather than any particular provision in the Constitution of India. During this period of Congress rule the states have generally functioned as the agents of the centre.

These seem to be a real political danger of subnationalism developing in India because of the variety of linguistic, cultural, religious, regional and ideological differences which exist in the country. To unite the Indian nation in the presence of fissiparous tendencies, regional rivalries, linguistic differences and parochial ambitions, a strong central authority was considered necessary by the early framers of the Constitution. Thus, the powers of the centre, as provided for in the Constitution, include defence, external affairs and foreign policy, communication, atomic energy, fixing of citizenship, currency, coinage, fiscal and monetary policy, general framework of criminal and civil law, revenue collection and the ability to dissolve state government during crisis. The Central Government also has substantial indirect control over education, planning and internal administration of the states. The bulk of public revenue in India is collected and distributed by the Central Government. Fiscal dependency, therefore, has been accepted as the permanent destiny of the states. The powers of the states, on the other hand, were restricted to agricultural development, education, rural taxation and local revenue collection. The effectiveness of national planning is being judged by the performance of the state governments. In the event of a dispute between the Union Government and a State Government over the exercise of powers, the Supreme Court of India has the jurisdiction to decide the case because it is the highest tribunal of the land. The Supreme Court may declare the act of government to be unconstitutional.

Even this limited autonomy granted to the states has permitted some to accumulate surplus food and refuse to share it with Indian citizens starving in neighbouring states. Some state governments have tried to get food directly from foreign countries to meet the state demand, but the Central Government has forbidden such direct foreign transactions by the states. For example, Kerala state was offered rice by the Chinese Government during its time of scarcity. Kerala authorities also demanded control of the foreign exchange earned by the state through the export of cashew nuts and coir. Several other states which export material surpluses such as Bihar have felt the need to stop the outflow of mica, coal and other minerals. If this were permitted, it would mean that each state could function as an autonomous unit. Communist West Bengal might, as a result of such a policy, send its own high commissioner to China or the Soviet Union. Many disputes have arisen over the central allocation of funds or the central establishment of industries in particular regions. The Central Government tries to allot funds fairly according to the availability of resources and the needs of the various states. If centre resorts to deficit financing the states cannot avoid it. Similarly, if the states fritter away their resources, the centre cannot but resort to deficit financing. Thus, India's economy is one and indivisible.

Recently a new situation developed when inter-state rivalries developed over the distribution of river waters. These river disputes are not like those on international rivers where two autonomous states are involved. The dispute between Mysore and Maharashtra on one side and Andhra Pradesh on the other over sharing of the Krishna-Godavari waters is a case in point.[24] Other disputes are those between Mysore and Tamil Nadu over the Cauvery River, between Tamil Nadu and Kerala over the Parambikulam-Aiyer waters, and between Gujarat and Maharashtra over the Narmada waters. The President of India is appointing a permanent commission, consisting of three members, to investigate and devise amicable settlements between the states. The dispute over the settlement of Bombay as the capital of Maharashtra or Gujarat was settled by the advice of the Central Government where Maharashtra partially financed the building of a new capital by Gujarat at Gandhinagar. Similar dispute between Punjab and Haryana is pending before the Central Government pertaining to Chandigarh. On January 31, 1970, the Central Government had awarded the disputed city of Chandigarh to Punjab. Chandigarh will remain a union territory for up to five years while Haryana builds a capital elsewhere. Until then, it will continue to serve as a dual capital. Haryana was awarded Rs. 200,000,000 half as an outright grant and the balance as a loan to pay for the new capital. Other territorial disputes between the two states will be referred to a Commission which will be given six months to submit its report. Fazilka would be transferred to Haryana along with the other border adjustments. A link will be provided between Fazilka and Haryana by a narrow strip of 220 yards wide territory between Punjab and Rajasthan. This is a justified settlement by the Central Government and should satisfy both the states. Such inter-state disputes can only be resolved by the able guidance of the Central Government.

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[24] S. Kama'a, "Inter-State Dispute : A Way out," *Swarajya*, XXII No. 21 (November 18, 1967) p. 23.

Inter-state conflicts over food developed to a critical point when in 1966 the monsoon failed. A critical situation developed when the people of Kerala and Bihar were not getting enough to eat whereas Andhra Pradesh abstained from taking quota of imported wheat and foodgrains distributed by the Central Government among the states and Madras (Tamil Nadu) had lowered the price of rice. Food surplus states, like Punjab, Andhra Pradesh and Assam, wanted to keep the single-state zone principle, as in this case it was to their own advantage, whereas the three principal deficit states, Bihar, Kerala and West Bengal, were clearly against the continuation of single-state zone.[25] In such a famine situation, for which the vagaries of the monsoon are responsible, the food situation should be treated as a single national problem rather than as a package of individual state problems.

Regionalism, linguistic rivalries, territorial claims, river water disputes, claims over capital cities and competition for the establishment of new steel mills or other industrial plants are all disintegrating forces in the Indian Union. In a scarcity economy like India, each person seeks to guarantee his share of limited resources by any means available to him or his group. Thus, the regional or local feelings have been developed in various parts of India at the expense of nationalism. To achieve regional—as against national—objective several new regional organizations are being developed, among them the Shiv Sena whose slogan is "Maharashtra for Maharashtrian". The accompanying local rivalries have created trouble in Bombay, and several people died in a clash between Shiv Sena and the people of South India in February, 1969. Other similar organizations are the Nag Sena in Andhra Pradesh and the anti-Hindi Sena in Tamil Nadu. Such regional chauvinism is disastrous for the unity of the nation. It is significant, however, to note that such regionalism withers away in the face of external dangers. Reaction to the Chinese aggression and the threat of a Sino-Pakistani alliance has demonstrated that the masses can throw away their regional and linguistic feelings and work in unity.[26] A new National Integration Council has been set up to work with the masses. Volunteer workers are selected from all over India and are helping create a consensus for unity. In summary, the national integration of India is possible if the Centre and all the states evolve policies in a spirit of joint partnership, seeing their problems from a national point of view rather than from a party or regional view. The Central Government obviously has to establish and enforce laws which are beneficial to all the people rather than for a small segment of the people. Inter-state disputes should always be resolved through the judicial advice of the Central Government rather than on political criteria.

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[25] "Food and National Unity," *Weekend Review*, I, No 18 (April 18, 1967), p. 12.

[26] P. Ghosh Dastidar "Regionalism and Rational Thinking," *Parliamentary Studies*," VIII, No. 5 (May, 1964), 16.

RECENT SPLIT IN THE CONGRESS PARTY

The virtual dominance of the political scene by the Congress Party and its leader, Mr Jawaharlal Nehru, during the fifties and early sixties could easily have led to totalitarian methods. This did not happen in India, however, as it has in certain other countries, because of the robustness of Indian public opinion. Dissidence within the Congress Party exercised a kind of check on its activities. The opposition parties had a significant restraining influence despite their ineffectiveness in attempting to dislodge the ruling party. Though its party manifesto and planning policies of the government, led by the Congress Party during more than two decades, adopted a programme of progressive socialism through democratic means, at many points the programme could not be implemented effectively due to political differences within the government and resistance by the party bosses. Even Mr Jawaharlal Nehru had to exercise caution for fear of a party split, and at times he was so frustrated that he considered resigning from the post of the Prime Minister.

The present party-split had its roots in the results of the 1967 General Elections when the Congress lost a number of states and was weakened considerably in others where it managed to retain a majority. The Congress losses were heavy in West Bengal, Madras (Tamil Nadu), Orissa, Kerala and Punjab. These states had been strongholds of the Congress Party before the 1967 General Elections. After these elections the Congress continued to lose support and was defeated in the subsequent mid-term elections. Many honest and devoted Congressmen whose loyalties were beyond question left the Congress Party due to dissatisfaction with the organization. Some of them remained quietly at home but others joined competing organizations or formed new rival parties such as the Bhartiya Kranti Dal and the Bangla Congress. The intra-party dissidence within the Congress reached its logical culmination in a party-split. The ineffectiveness of the government in its effort to implement policies and programmes was one of the causes of dissatisfaction among the Congressmen. Moreover, some of the devoted workers were denied tickets to contest elections. A member of the party has to obtain ticket to contest election as a party candidate.

To build new confidence among the masses, the government of Mrs Indira Gandhi adopted a more radical programme to speed the national development and implement the official policies. The Bangalore Session of the All-India Congress Committee in July, 1969, accepted the radical programme of the Prime Minister. She also took a bold step in nationalizing the major banks. This action, however, created some tension within the party. The government branch of the Congress Party expects the nationalization of banks to create a sense of confidence among the masses. At present the majority of the public seems to think that the progressive and socialistic policies of the Congress will be fully carried out in spite of the party-split.

Mrs Gandhi backed Mr V.V. Giri[27] for the post of the President of India which also aggravated the Syndicate. Furthermore, the defeat of the Congress presidential candidate, Mr N. Sanjiva Reddy, in the election brought more opposition towards Mrs Gandhi from Old Congress bosses (Table 19). A split in the Congress Party became inevitable when the Congress President, Mr Nijalingappa, dropped two Working Committee members, a day before that committee was scheduled to meet (October 31,1969) in order to reduce the majority of the Prime Minister's supporters in the committee. At this point the Syndicate removed Mrs Gandhi. She then decided to hold a rival Working Committee meeting and appointed three members to organize the All-India Congress Committee session in New Delhi. Earlier, Mrs Gandhi had dropped four junior ministers and a Cabinet Minister in order to create a more cohesive and purposeful government. Although the

[27] Mr Giri originally belonged to the Congress Party in which he was a devoted worker, but the Syndicate (the Old Congress) refuse to nominate him as a candidate for the presidential post. So, he resigned his party membership and contested as an independent candidate.

TABLE 19

ELECTION RESULTS OF THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA, AUGUST, 1969

	Candidates	*Votes*
1.	V. V. Giri	420,077*
2.	N. Sanjiva Reddy	405,427
3.	C. D. Deshmukh	112,769
4.	Chandra Dutt Senani	5,814
5.	Maharani Gurucharan Kaur of Nabha	940
6.	P. N. Rajabhoj	831
7.	A. Ulal Mag	576
8.	Hari Ram	125
9.	S. W. Aniruddh	125
10.	Khubi Ram	94
11.	Hagmal	0
12.	K. K. Chatterjee	0
13.	Santosh Singh Kachhwaha	0
14.	Dr R. T. Chator	0
15.	R. P. Vyas	0

* Mr V. V. Giri is elected as President.

Prime Minister has a right to dismiss any Cabinet Minister who interferes with the course of the administration. dismissed ministers were close associates of the Syndicate and their dismissal gained unusual attention among the public in this period of tension. Several Chief Ministers and some of the old Congressmen have tried to reunite the dissident groups but no compromise could be brought about. Congress unity is what the country needs badly to assure minimal political stability during a difficult transition period. This unity is being throughtlessly sacrificed by both factions, and their moral authority is being recklessly eroded by their unwillingness to be reconciled.

After the split the Old and New Congress factions held meeting at Gandhinagar (Gujarat) and Bombay respectively during late December, 1969. Both groups reported impressive attendance figures and each claimed that it had the mantle of the Old Congress and mass support. The Syndicate Group was critical of the new ruling Congress Party Government's handing of economic and foreign affairs. It adopted four resolutions pertaining to economic and social policy, foreign policy, unemployment and the communal situation. A resolution of the New Congress asserts that the party resolves to establish democratic socialism with equal stress on democracy and socialism. The Prime Minister has announced that the Congress as reconstituted stands for democracy, secularism, socialism and non-alignment in international relations and says that these policies will be actively implemented.

The electorate can be momentarily enthused by radical slogans. But the final judgment will rest on performance. Therefore, only those promises should be made that can be kept with any reasonable assurance. The emergence of new political alignments and the hope for stability must rest on a clear definition of policies and programmes along with a commitment to parliamentary democracy and secularism. The programmes should be implemented immediately. The objective of both Congress groups continued to appeal to popular support by demonstrating mass popularity.

In the first trial of strength after the recent split in the Congress Party, Mrs Gandhi's government survived in the Lok Sabha in an adjournment motion over the Rabat issue. The motion was defeated by 306 to 140 votes with two abstentions. The government's majority was decisive even without Communist support. It was able to secure a clear majority in the House (263) without the total Communist support of 43 votes. An analysis of the voting pattern in the Lok Sabha adjournment motion shows that Mrs Gandhi's government won an impressive victory with substantial support from the opposition. The Communist Party of India (19), the Communist Party-Marxist (24), the United Independent Parliamentary Group (19), Independents (15), the Swatantra (3), and the Bhartiya Kranti Dal (1) voted for the government, whereas the Pro-Nijalingappa Congress (57), the Swatantra (31), the Jana Sangh (28), the Samyukta Socialist Party (12), the Bhartiya Kranti Dal (7), the Praja Socialist Party (8) and 4 Independents voted for the opposition group.

The essential split is not between the so-called Left and the so-called Right but the forces of outmoded tradition and those of modernity. The Congress Party is being split on non-issues. The polarization of parties may take considerable time to come about because the goals of both groups are not precisely spelled out. Indian political parties are at the moment in desparate search of their identity and it is difficult to predict with any assurance the probable pattern and alignment of forces that might emerge. The performance of the government led by the New Congress Party will affect the final outcome of the 1972 General Election and the final polarization of parties.

It was thought that the opposition coalition formed in various states after the 1967 General Elections might have brought some stability to the government of the respective states and polarize the parties which are working together; it did not happen except in Madras and Orissa. West Bengal announced, after the crushing defeat of the Congress Party in the mid-term elections of February, 1969, that the victory of the United Front is the victory of the communist movement in India. The tactics followed after the election by the major partners of the coalition (the Communist Party-Marxist) were violence, sabotage, looting of grain fields and grabbing of land which created fear in the minds of the public. The Chief Minister, who is an ex-Congressman fasted against the Marxist tactics but to no avail. Thus, it is evident that the Communists cannot gather mass support all over India. The polarization, therefore, may take place between the rightist and the democratic socialistic forces.

The split in the Congress Party became inevitable and with this split the rival Congress parties have emerged from Gandhinagar and Bambay as the most viable and influential parties. The by-product of the split is that for the first time in the Indian Republic's history there is an Opposition party in both the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha headed by Mr Ram Subhag Singh and Mr S.N. Misra respectively. Both Opposition members are followers of the Old Congress Party. For the formal recognition of its leader, a party must have a strength of at-least one-tenth of the total membership of the Houses. No party could attain the status of Opposition until this split.

There are some favourable comments by various newspapers about this split. *The National Herald* (Gujarat) said that the

Bombay session has served three purposes: (1) it has restored the democratic process to the organization, (2) it has brought together the leadership and the rank and file, and (3) it has brought socialism nearer to the people.[28] *The Financial Express* wrote that in the New Congress the dominating voice will be that of the suppressed and the depressed.[29]

The New Congress has to work vigorously to implement the policies immediately. There are some healthy signs towards this end. Three of the five priority items in the economic policy resolution by the New Congress have to be implemented without delay. These three items are abolition of privy purses of the princes (the abolition of which has already been announced by the Home Minister on December 25, 1969), nationalization of general insurance, and imposition of a ceiling on urban property. Other priority items are: a progressive takeover of the grain trade, and nationalization of import and export. Also, it is the intention of the New Congress Party to nationalize the Uttar Pradesh sugar mills. The economic conditions of these sugar mills are precarious. Coincidently, Uttar Pradesh is headed by Mr C.B. Gupta, a follower of Old Congress group, an opposition party to Mrs. Gandhi. The New Congress will have to face several oppositions especially from the Old Congress Party in budget session and in passing various bills. Mr C.B. Gupta was ousted by the United Front Government headed by Mr Charan Singh. But this United Front also did not survive for a long time and now the Government is headed by the New Congress Party.

India's outstanding accomplishment in 1969 was to demonstrate that its constitutional and administrative frame could absorb the shock of a split in the party that had ruled, with no comparable opposition, since it became independent. Nothing like this has happened in any other nation in recent history. Mrs Gandhi has taken this bold step to oppose the traditionalists, which her father Mr Jawaharlal Nehru could not do. Even Mr Kamaraj did not like some of Mrs Gandhi's decisions and criticized her about the split in the Congress Party. But she has not hesitated to say: "The Congress is great but this country is greater still."[30] The masses can easily be won by such patriotic expressions, because most of the leaders including Mr Nehru have devoted themselves more (in comparative terms) to party rather than to nation. The other leaders in most of the instances cared for party unity and sacrificed the national achievement, except Mr Shastri. A recent example of Mrs Gandhi's boldness in deciding the status of Chandigarh and its inclusion in Punjab gives an impression of her firmness in her decision-making. Even at the critical moment when Mr Darshan Singh Pheruman died on October 27, 1969, after fasting for 74 days to secure Chandigarh to Punjab, she avoided to take hasty step. At the time of the death of Mr Pheruman, the situation became tense and the violence became inevitable, but she managed the situation. The Prime Minister regretted the death of the Sikh leader, but she warned both partics (Punjab and Haryana) that no decision on Chandigarh could be taken under the threat of fast, agitation or pressure. Such decisions at the critical time of party-split is really praiseworthy. The historical events show that the decision of Mr Nehru to form a separate linguistic state (Andhra Pradesh) under pressure proved detrimental to the national unity. The death of a passionate Andhra leader and subsequent violence coerced Nehru to form a new state in 1953.

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[28] "The Bombay Session, Looking Ahead," *The Overseas Hindustan Times*, XX, No. 54 (January 10, 1970), p. 6.

[29] Ibid., p. 6.

At present there is a considerable sympathy for the Prime Minister among the younger generation because she is seeking a new and more dynamic approach to politics and development. They also desire a more concerted thrust towards social and distributional justice. A large number of young voters favour Mrs Gandhi's radical programme. After the split in the Congress Party, she has decided to revitalize the nation and spur it to make new sacrifices for the common good.

Mrs Gandhi now has a strong opposition in both the Houses and she is committed to bring speedy progress towards the democratic socialism. If she fails in her venture there may develop a chaotic situation till a strong party takes over; and it is probable that the Old Congress group may be able to give a desired shift. The other parties do not seem to control the Central Government due to their differing ideologies and fissiparous tendencies. Among the united fronts there exist many splinter groups with contrasting philosophies leading to chronic instability, regular defections, temptation of corruption and public cynicism about the political process. Factional parties can be erratic and can move in all direction within the general limits of the interests and ideas of the collaborating leaders. West Bengal and Kerala are good examples of infighting among the collaborating partners and general state of lawlessness in both the states. After the fifth General Election the opposition in the Parliament has practically vanished and Mrs Gandhi commands an astounding majority.

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[30] Anand Mohan, *Indira Gandhi: A Personal and Political Biography* (New York : Meredith Press, 1967) p. 286.

The split in the party seems to be a good sign for stability in the nation, as either Congress Party can hold the country together through democratic process. Both of them approach through mass support and follow peaceful methods of implementing the policies. If Mrs Gandhi's government can bring speedy economic progress, it should be able to maintain a healthy parliamentary democracy and in the end results will be political freedom, equal opportunity, secular government and social justice. Otherwise the Old Congress Party might bring the desired stability at the time of crisis. Now the Old Congress seems to be an ineffective organization. Most of the leaders became demoralized and inactive in public service.

EFFECTS OF ALTERED PATTERNS ON INDIAN ECONOMY AND POLITICS

The more diversified pattern of political thinking, evident in the results of the Fourth General Election, creates some concern for the future political stability of the nation. Because the Congress Party had a sound political base and a well-established party organization, it developed a viable democratic system which the other parties probably could not have accomplished. Some of the other parties, particularly the leftist ones, have followed a disruptive path and this brought instability to certain parts of the country.

The lawlessness and violence is an every-day affair in West Bengal which is headed by a 12-party coalition ministry. The Chief Minister who belongs to the Bangla Congress (Congress dissident group—a party in the coalition ministry) undertook a three-day fast to protest the spreading lawlessness in West Bengal. His colleagues and followers pursued *Satyagraha* (non-violent protest) in widely scattered areas of the state. The Home Minister, Mr Jyoti Basu, a Marxist, is responsible for a lawless situation in the state, and disagreed with the Chief Minister's arguments. He asserted that poor should get their share of land and economic justice with whatever means available to them. The struggle between the Calcutta porters and the handcart-pullers created a critical situation in Calcutta, but the government has not handled the situation lawfully. The coalition government assumed that the West Bengal Estates Acquisition Act of 1953[31] was enforced defectively and large tracts of cultivated land remained in the possession of wealthy peasant proprietors (called *Jotedar*) under proxy titles (*benami*). Thus this Act should be enforced effectively all over the state and the justice be brought to the landless labourers. The United Front Government, therefore, took a formal decision for recovery and distribution of *benami* land through peasant struggle. The government formed joint committee of various united front partners with junior land-revenue and record officer as chairman at the police station level to detect, to identify and to distribute *benami* land. These committees got all powers and green signal for grabbing land and for distributing it among landless labourers. (Majority of them happened to be the Marxist Party members).

The land-grabbing agitation was considered legitimate soon after the United Front Government came to power in February, 1969. The land of middle and poor-class farmers was also grabbed along with the wealthy peasant proprietors. The worst victims proved to be the people who belonged to the Opposition or locally weak party. The Communist Party (Marxist), as the strongest

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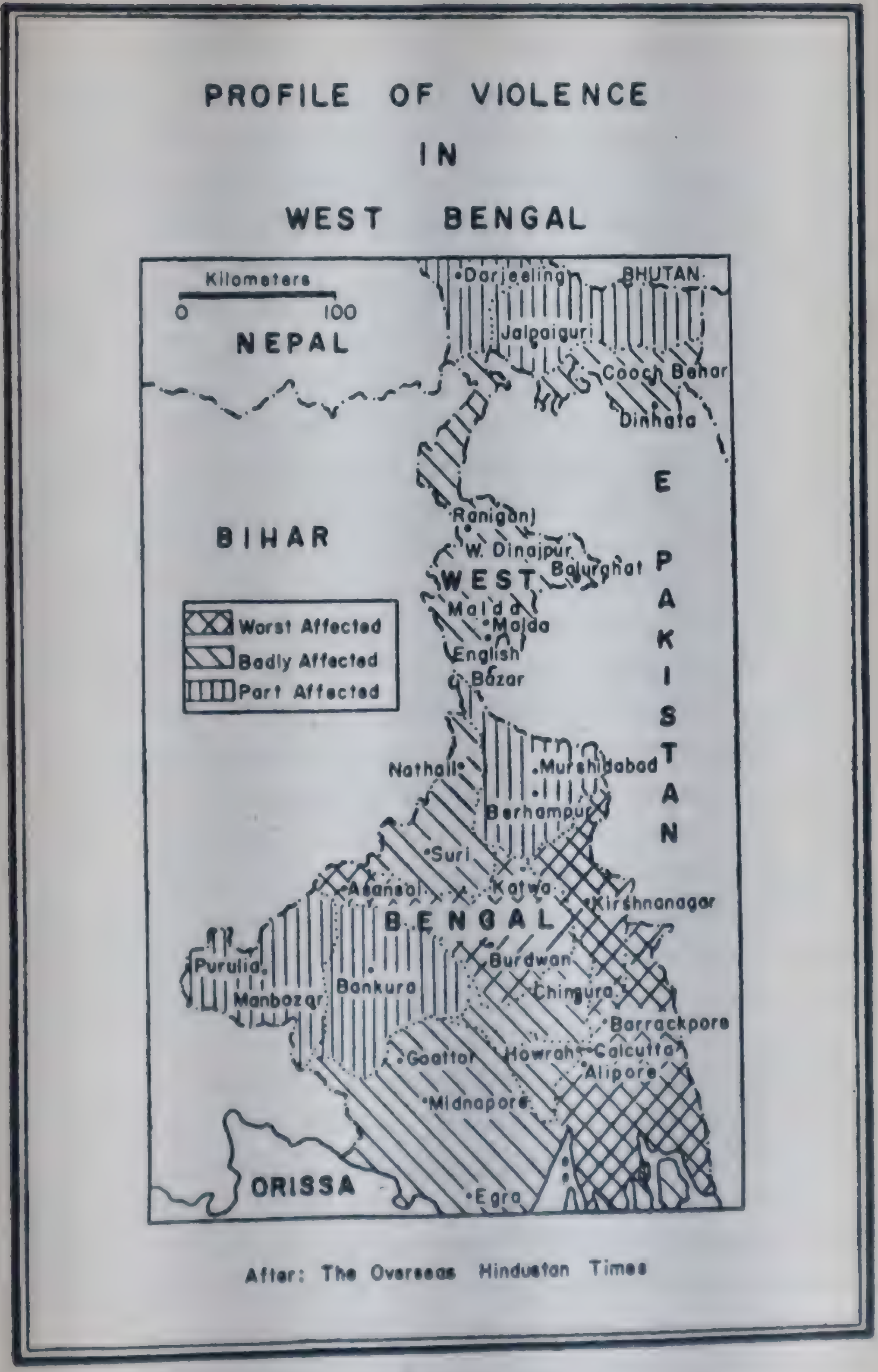
[31] The Zamindari Abolition and Ceiling on Land Holdings Act, 1953.



PROFILE OF VIOLENCE IN WEST BENGAL

Kilometers
0
100
NEPAL
Darjeeling
BHUTAN
Jalpaiguri
Cooch Behar
Dinhata
E PAKISTAN
BIHAR
Raniganj
W. Dinajpur
Balurghat
WEST
Malda
Malda
English Bazar
Worst Affected
Badly Affected
Part Affected
Nathall
Murshidabad
Berhampur
Suri
Asansol
Katwa
Kirshnanagar
BENGAL
Purulia
Manbazar
Bankura
Burdwan
Chingura
Barrackpore
Goattor
Howrah
Calcutta
Alipore
Midnapore
ORISSA
Egra

After: The Overseas Hindustan Times

FIG. 30

party, with ample resources and the police machinery at its beck and call, grabbed the most. Looting and forcibly harvesting the paddy fields became another important act of violence by the followers of the Marxist Party. In several areas of 24-Parganas, Midnapore, Malda and West Dinajpur looting of grain fields and grabbing of land turned the situation chaotic in the state (Fig. 30). The defenders were beaten mercilessly. In these areas there has been an almost total absence of the rule of law, ironically brought about by a deliberate decision of a state government. The situation seems to be more critical as evident by the statement of Mr Prakash Vir Shastri (Bhartiya Kranti Dal member) in the Lok Sabha. He told that there had been 978 murders in West Bengal in August and September, 1969—200 of them were political. There had been 65 mob clashes and 37 hospitals have been attacked. In nearly 300 cases of violence the police had taken no action.[32]

In Kerala also, Marxists are heading in the same direction, because Marxists are no more a coalition partner in the present Kerala government. The Government is headed by the Communist Party of India, the Muslim League and the Kerala Congress. The public is not supporting the Marxist agitation in the state.

A recent one-man inquiry commission appointed by the Governor against the first united front government of Bihar gave its report pertaining to the malpractices used by the ministers of that front. The report accused 13 out of 14 ministers for passing illegal orders for their own interest at the cost of the state.

All these above-mentioned coalition government cases in various states suggest that the coalition of various parties with differing ideologies create an unstable situation, lawlessness and a danger to democratic principles. On the other hand, the Congress has given a stable system throughout its rule for the last 22 years. Even the split in Congress has not created an unusual situation, either at the centre or in various state assemblies.

The collapse of several Congress and non-Congress coalition governments, especially in the north (Table 17), has retarded the economic progress in those states because of the instability of government functions in the states concerned. The uncertainty of a stable administration has created a fear in the minds of the state leaders that the ministry can collapse at any time. Thus the ministers are constantly busy trying to secure the support of a majority of the legislators, and they have insufficient time to attend to the progress of the state. Power-hungry politicians have sometimes tried to bribe the party defectors in an effort to keep their positions intact. As a result, several important projects have been delayed. Central leaders in turn worry about the downfall of the state ministries and spend much time devising programmes to stabilize them. As a result, they sometimes neglect their obligation to carry out effective planning and the execution of existing national development plans. Mid-term elections in the four northern states in February, 1969, cost a considerable amount of money which could have been used for development projects in these states. Opposition parties of the left have started putting pressure on the Central Government to change its foreign policy towards Communist China and the Soviet Union, but their voice in the Lok Sabha is negligible due to their small number of votes. This is a new problem faced by the Central Government, however, and its slender majority in the Lok Sabha creates a hazard to the smooth running of the administration. The statement refers to the Lok Sabha before the fifth General Election. The situation has changed drastically in favour of the New Congress.

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[32] "Fasting Chief Minister," *The Overseas Hindustan Times* XX No. 49 (December, 6. 1969), 3.

On the other hand, it is a sign of health to see coalition governments working effectively in Orissa and Tamil Nadu (Madras), where considerable economic progress has been attained. There is a competitive spirit among the politicians of these states as they attempt to perform better than the previous Congress government. If similar coalitions could be formed elsewhere, they would probably contribute to the progress of the states and finally to the progress of the nation. Cohesive coalitions of different parties are, however, very difficult to form in India because of the different ideologies of the various parties. Moreover, most of the politicians are power-hungry and seem to have little desire to work for the public good.

In summary, the political patterns which emerged after the fourth General Election created some economic distress, and aroused suspicion in the minds of the general public concerning the stability of the state governments, especially in the northern plain. Although regional parties have gained power in Madras and Punjab, really no distinct political pattern has emerged after four General Elections. No viable alternative to the stable government formerly provided by the Congress Party was produced by the 1967 election except in one or two states.

Several prognostications may be ventured by the author with regard to future patterns. First, on the basis of the 1967 elections, it seems likely that the Swatantra influence should be confined to Gujarat, Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and Mysore, and that the Jana Sangh influence will be concentrated in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi. In their respective areas both parties received a high percentage of the votes in the last general election. Both parties are ideologically similar and so could participate in a coalition government at the centre. Such a coalition might well bring stability and, therefore, might work efficiently for the betterment of the nation. The attitudes of these two parties are also similar in regard to foreign policy, and they agree on most national development policies. But after the mid-term elections of March, 1971, their attitudes have changed and now the Jana Sangh has declared to contest elections separately.

If the Congress Party is prepared to enter into an alliance with the Swatantra or with the Jana Sangh there is some chance of producing stable ministries in several of the states. In such a coalition, however, either the Congress Party or the party in coalition with it would have to change its foreign policy and adjust its ideology. A change of this type might take some time. For the present, such a coalition would produce stability in the internal political system, thereby aiding in the economic development of the unstable states. But, in the long run, a coalition of two or more parties can create some problems due to differing ideologies. Over the country as a whole, we may expect to see a right-wing coalition in some states and a left-wing one in other. The Congress Party will probably control the remaining states as well as the national government, at least for the near future.

There is a considerable danger in this pattern, however, as some states may get more attention than others from the central administration. The people in states with an opposition coalition in power would be at a disadvantage, and their economic progress would suffer. There are obvious dangers in unstable ministries at either the state or the central level. After its recent reverses in the fourth General Election, the Congress Party may reform its ways and evolve into a party more concerned with the betterment of the people and once more work effectively. The recent split in the Congress Party has created a new situation in which the old Congress branch has provided a strong opposition to the government. This is definitely a healthy sign for the democratic process. The government branch of the Congress Party (the New Congress Party) has to work hard towards actual performance and to show results through economic development and social justice rather than simply assuring the masses. The speedy implementation of the policies by the New Congress Party is in the right direction for bringing democratic socialism and economic progress. The nationalization of banks, abolition of privy purses, and Land Reform Act are examples of such speedy implementation of policies. The government has also indicated to nationalize life insurance, foreign trade, besides the sugar industry of Uttar Pradesh as the priority items in its recent declaration towards speedy progress. The performance of the government will affect the final outcome of the General Election in 1972 and the final polarization of parties. For a clean administration there should be a strong opposition party which can be provided by either the rightists or the leftists or the Old Congress. A strong opposition is needed for truly viable and democratic system which is currently provided by the Old Congress faction.

THE MID-TERM ELECTION: MARCH, 1971

The Fourth Parliament was dissolved 14 months before (in December 1970) its due date because Mrs Gandhi thought to have clear mandate to amend the Constitution and in turn carry out the socialistic policies of the New Congress through democratic means. In the mid-term parliamentary elections (March 1 to March 10, 1971) the New Congress election manifesto pledged to implement its socialistic policies through democratic means, defend secularism and safeguard the interests of the minorities, put down the forces of violence and disorder, reduce disparities, provide fresh avenues for employment, enlarge public sector and give scope to private sector, and provide basic requirements of life to the people. The main slogan was "*Garibi Hatao*"—Remove Poverty.

The Fifth General Elections have put forth different patterns than the previous four General Elections. The New Congress won 350 seats, more than two-thirds majority needed to amend the Constitution. This is the biggest victory the Congress Party has ever witnessed. Even Mr Nehru could not command such a majority during his peak years in New Delhi. The percentage of Congress votes in 1971 has increased to 53.08 from 42.43 in 1967. Thus the Congress has increased its percentage of votes to the tune of 10.65. The Congress candidates won by huge margins. On the contrary, a large number of Opposition candidates not only lost the election but forfeited their security deposits.

The new patterns have emerged by this election—such as, it was in this election that people voted for national priorities rather than local faithfulness. Almost all the princes united together to campaign against the Congress. Similarly, the big business houses also openly challenged the Congress. However, most of them lost the election. Another pattern is that no political party has been able to get the status of recognized Opposition in the Lok Sabha. Even the Old Congress (Syndicate) which had 63 seats in the dissolved House could get only 16 seats—11 from Gujarat alone (Appendix I). Not only that, the so-called "Grand Alliance" of the Jana Sangh, the Old Congress, the Swatantra and the Samyukta Socialist Party was completely routed. This Alliance even could not secure a majority of 10 per cent seats in the Lok Sabha. The Grand Alliance alerted the people against the dangers of communalism, capitalism, *laissez faire* and radicalism; so they rejected them overwhelmingly. This proves that the Indian people have refused to be swayed by communal passions, caste considerations and regional loyalties. It is clear that people have voted for stability.

The Congress vote has been mainly drawn from the low and middle-income groups. The minorities also have full faith in the New Congress. Neither money-power nor a thoroughness in propaganda campaigns could blur the vision of the voter who did not fail in discussing where his interest really lay. A large number of young Congress candidates got elected, thus for the Congress it was a victory of youth.

The election represents a vote against the system of coalition government, a system which had so discredited itself in some of the states, notably Haryana, West Bengal, Bihar and lately in U.P. as to become the laughing stock of the country. The electorate saw in Mrs Gandhi as the only chance of a stable, strong and homogeneous government. After the spectacular victory of the New Congress, a large number of Opposition members in state assemblies defected to the ruling party. This new series of defections ousted various coalition ministries in Mysore, Gujarat, West Bengal, Kerala, Punjab, Bihar, etc.

The results have amazed the world capitals that such a revolutionary process could take place so smoothly and peacefully and that Indian democracy has once again demonstrated how deep-rooted it is. Mrs Gandhi has raised the stature of the country before the international world. Mr Nixon wrote to Mrs Gandhi while congratulating her on her tremendous victory, "India's national elections," the President said, "have provided all of us with a stirring example of the vitality of democracy in today's world."[33] Mrs Gandhi, at present, trying her best to implement the socialistic policies through democratic process and bring about a speedy progress as well as bridge the gap between the poor and the rich.

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[33] Keating, K.B., "Thoughts on India's Election," *Indian Express* (Delhi), April 3, 1971.

CHAPTER
VI

External Relations : India's Borders and Associated Problems

India's land frontier is approximately 15,200 kilometres long. Of this length, about 8,000 kilometres are shared in common with Pakistan, 4,000 kilometres with China, 1,450 kilometres with Burma and the remainder with Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal. The India-Burma border creates no political stress. The boundary with Pakistan was finalized at the time of partition in 1947 through the Radcliffe Award. Minor changes were executed later, including a recent delimitation in the Kutch area. Significant boundary friction exists on the India-China border, for centuries a peaceful line of separation in southern Asia, but one which in recent years has become a battlefield.

THE INDIA-CHINA BORDER

The Himalayan Range forms an impressive natural boundary, one which has been recognized by tradition and custom dating as far back as 1500 B.C. Innumerable references in Indian mythology and the religious lore of the Vedic and post-Vedic ages established the Himalayas as the limits of the Indian frontier.[1] The sacred books, the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, and the *Puranas*, all considered the Himalayas as a part of India. During the Medieval period, India controlled the area adjacent to the Himalayan watershed and in some cases the area beyond the watershed. This control has continued through the ages. The Mauryan Empire (at the end of the sixth century B.C.), the Ashokan Empire (at the beginning of the Christian era), the Kushan Empire (in A.D. third century, which extended control beyond the watershed), and the Gupta Empire (in A.D. sixth century), as well as the Mughal Empire (eleventh to eighteenth century) of the Muslims extended their rule as far as the Himalayan natural boundary. Thus, for more than 3,000 years the Himalayas have been regarded as the frontier of India.

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[1] *The Sino-Indian Border Dispute* (New Delhi : The Afro-Asian Council, 1961), p. 3.

The powerful rulers of India confined their ambitions within the natural frontiers of India, and did not try to extend their rule beyond them. The question of space has never worried Indian political thinkers in the past nor does it at present. "Himachal Setu Paryant (the area from the Himalayas to the Remeshwaram at the tip of the peninsula) was their concept of India."[2] During the last three centuries numerous international agreements and treaties have established the Himalayas as the limit of administrative control between India and China.

The Sino-Indian border as it stands today is the product of Manchu policy, Chinese Republican policy, and British policy. The British policy was to develop friendship with China and enhance trade relations with that northern neighbour. The extension of Indian territory was not a British concern. The British administration could have returned part of the currently disputed Tawang region to Tibet at almost any time between 1914 and 1947, but it did not do so because it regarded that region as properly belonging to India. Even Chou En-lai has had occasion to remark that, century after century, history has recorded peaceful cultural and economic intercourse between India and China. There has been no historical animosity between them. Their relations were entirely cordial, based on mutual respect and good neighbourliness since antiquity. Until recently, Indian territory had never been invaded through the passes on the north or east, and China had never exercised its power over Ladakh.

The question arises, therefore, as to why such traditionally and friendly relations between the two neighbours have been replaced by hostile co-existence. The Chinese invasion of 1962 was not due to a single factor; rather, it was a multi-factor phenomenon. Among the factors, foremost was the establishment of a firm, strong and stable central government for China with an aggressive nationalist outlook in various directions. This nationalism has generated a desire to return to vassaldom all those territories which once formed part of the Chinese Empire, and which became independent or detached as a result of general political disintegration. This policy of expansionism has been apparent along the north-western frontier with the Soviet Union, as well as in the Pamirs, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim, Bhutan, Assam, Burma, the Andamans, Malaya, Thailand, Annam, Taiwan, the Ryukyus and the Kuriles.[3]

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[2] K. M. Panikkar, "The Geographical Factors in Indian History," *op. cit.*, p. 20.

According to the Chinese government, India in the 20th century had interfered in Tibetan affairs; consequently, she deserved punishment. The ultimate aim of the present communist regime appears to be an expanded China as large as the land mass of Asia exclusive of the Soviet Union. There seems to be a long-term plan to annex the outlying territories of Ladakh, Sikkim, Bhutan and NEFA. These, with Nepal, are to form part of the Chinese Five Fingers (five fingers of which Tibet is the palm) for the purpose of controlling and influencing the entire subcontinent. The whole Himalayan area is to form a federation of Himalayan states which would presumably function as a Chinese protectorate. China has long felt a great need for a road across the Aksai Chin and for territory in Ladakh to insure the defence of the road. This was unquestionably the major strategic element underlying the Chinese invasion. The Chinese authorities felt also that the Tibetan rebels and Khampas might use the territory, if it was not under their control, for guerrilla activities against the Chinese regime.

A very important cause for the Chinese invasion of India was the ideological difference between the two countries, one swearing by sectarian communism and the other by democratic socialism, one by alignment and the other by non-alignment, one by dictatorship and the other by democracy. *The New York Times* once commented that communist nations are extremely sensitive about their frontiers with non-communist countries. Accordingly, they recognize three types of neighbours: pro-communist states, friendly neutrals and anti-communist states. The first two types are acceptable, but the third is intolerable.[4]

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[3] "A Map Published in," *Link*, V. No. 14 (November 11, 1962) 16-17.

Communist China's long-range goals for India were the destruction of Indian prestige and, more specifically, of Nehru's dominant position in India and world politics. Some observers feel that there may be a grand design on the part of China for leadership of the Afro-Asian world and for the elimination of India as a serious obstacle to such Chinese ascendancy. The leaders of China long ago learned from Joseph Stalin that it is necessary to have a well-developed base from which to operate.[5] Evidently India's support of Tibetan rebels and the Dalai Lama, its philosophy of anti-communism, its co-operation with the capitalist Tata family in increasing arms production, and its friendly relations with the United States and the other Western powers have been the basic causes of antagonism. In addition, China seems to have been jealous of India's economic progress and has wanted to retard it by diverting Indian resources to war-material production. Political collusion with Pakistan and military aid to that country is a means of continuing the diversion. Aggressiveness is now as much a part of China's ideological and power game as it is a product of her territorial lust.[6]

After centuries of peaceful co-existence, China in recent years has claimed large sectors of Indian territory along the northern and north-eastern borders of India, citing in support of these claims a map published in 1922 by Sun Yat-Sen.[7] The really serious India-China border conflict started in 1951, when the Indian government brought to the notice of the Peking government some Chinese maps which showed traditional Indian territory as a part of China. In reply to this protest and again on a later occasion, Premier Chou En-lai assured the Indian Prime

[4] *The New York Times*, February 26, 1961, p. 16.

[5] Robert Dean Tice, *Geopolitics and the Ladakh Boundary* (Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, Saint Louis University, 1965), p. 239.

[6] Gondkar Narayan Rao, *The India-China Border* (New Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1968), p. 1.

[7] Sun Yat-Sen, *The International Development in China* (New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1922), Map.

Minister that these were old maps produced by the "pre-liberation regime" in China and that China had had no time to revise them. As soon as the Chinese government felt relieved of more pressing problems, he said, the necessary corrections of the maps would be made after mutual consultation.[8] Mr Nehru made it clear to Mr Chou En-lai that "our boundaries were quite clear and were not a matter of argument."[9] The Chinese Prime Minister did not protest this statement. Between 1954 and 1959, however, India's northern border was continuously threatened and invaded, and eventually about 31,000 square kilometres of its territory were occupied by China. During these five years several border incidents occurred, among others at Bara Hoti (July, 1954), Damzan (September, 1955), Nilang and Shipki Pass (April, 1956), Kurik (1956 and 1957), Walong (September, 1958), Khurnak Fort (July, 1958), and Lapthal and Sangcha Malla (October, 1958). India protested all these incidents, but to no avail. By September, 1959, China had occupied Bara Hoti, Lapthal, Sangcha Malla and the Kurnak Fort.[10] Then for a time the Chinese contented themselves with minor border activity, probing here and there, and occasionally publishing maps suggesting claims to territory well to the south of the line which India considered to be the border.

Mr Nehru, referring to these incidents, warned his country that the Indian border had become a big and dangerous issue and might remain so for a long time. China's claims extended along the border for a distance of 4,000 kilometres, but the major areas were in Gilgit Agency and Ladakh. They also included large parts of Bhutan, altogether some 5,000 square kilometres in the north, northeastern, and southeastern parts of that protectorate. In the correspondence that followed these border incidents, the Chinese government claimed some 132,000 square kilometres of Indian territory and refused to recognize the traditional Indian boundary in spite of the existing data of customs, usages, treaties, geographical configurations and racial affinities which for so long had sanctioned it. Nehru and Chou En-lai met in New Delhi between April 19 and 25, 1960, in order to explore avenues toward a peaceful settlement. As a result of this conference, the two Prime Ministers agreed that appropriate officials of the two governments should meet to examine, check and study all of the historical documents, records and accounts on which they respectively relied in support of their boundary claims. Representatives of both governments met at Peking, Delhi and Rangoon and submitted a report on February 14, 1961. In their report the officials agreed to discuss all of the treaties and agreements, traditions and customs, administrative decisions, natural features and miscellaneous data of relevance to the boundary question.

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[8] *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreement Signed between the Government of India and China, White Paper* 1, 1954-59 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1959), p. 47.

[9] Ibid., p. 49.

[10] Ramesh Singhvi, *India's Northern Frontier and China* (Bombay: Contemporary Publishers, 1962), p. 15.

In general, the Chinese government claimed that the momentary alignment of the boundary was the result of British imperialist aggression against China and especially the Tibetan regime of China. It argued that the Sino-Indian frontier had never been formally delimited,[11] and insisted that the traditional and customary line, as drawn on the Chinese maps, was correct. In contrast, the Indian government strongly affirmed that the entire length of the boundary had been defined, either by treaty or by custom, or both, and pointed out that until recently no Chinese government had protested against the exercise of jurisdiction by India up to this boundary.[12] The lofty mountain ranges and watershed buried in eternal snow, it was asserted, would facilitate verbal definition, and demarcation on the ground was either impossible or superfluous. During the discussions, the Indian delegates described in precise details the physical features along the mountain crest, giving the co-ordinates of all peaks and important points, in addition to answering 57 questions asked by Chinese side. The Chinese representatives, however, answered only 59 of the 118 questions asked by the Indians, and the evidence they submitted was recent in origin, imprecise and, what was more striking, internally inconsistent both in fact and arguments. The Chinese arbitrarily stated certain principles, applied them to particular instances when it suited their convenience, and discarded or ignored them when they were inconvenient.[13] The discussion revealed that while the Indian government had a thorough knowledge of the boundary the Chinese government was not even familiar with the topography of the territory which they claimed to have possessed and administered for centuries. It could not produce even a single official map published prior to 1950 depicting the alignment which it now claimed,[14] whereas India was able to produce 44 official maps including eight of Chinese origin.

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[11] *Notes, Memoranda and Letters Exchanged and Agreement Signed between the Government of India and China, White Paper II, September, November*, 1959 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1959), pp. 52 and 57.

[12] *White Paper III, November 1969-March*, 1960 (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1960), p. 85.

It is significant to note that China agreed with India that the Sino-Indian boundary was a natural one. It further conceded that in determining the course of this boundary the geographical location of the watershed should be treated as an important factor, although its acts had belied its acceptance of a watershed boundary.

When it suited their convenience, the Chinese modified their emphasis on geographical principles of boundary determination and contended that the historical facts could not be negated by geographical principles. The historical claims mostly pertained to the collection of religious dues or the exercise of religious supervision over the Lamaist monasteries and the Buddhist faith. On March 7, 1914, however, Ivan Chen, the Chinese delegate to the Simla Convention, had stated, "What is termed spiritual influence should not be confused with what is termed temporal authority."[15] The Dalai Lama only exercise spiritual authority and not temporal authority. The Tibetan never collected any secular revenue as distinct from the religious dues. It is evident that whereas the Indians have presented a legal case, the Chinese have put forward a political one.

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[13] K. Krishna Rao, *The Sino-Indian Boundary Question and International Law* (New Delhi: Bombay Mutual Building, Parliament Street, 1963), pp. 44-45.

[14] *Report of the Indian officials on the Boundary Question* (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1961), p. 253.

[15] *The India-China Boundary Question* (New Delhi: The Indian Society of International Law, 1963), p. 39.

An important, larger consideration in the talks was the status of Tibet. China asserted that Tibet was a part of Chinese territory, and that China had exercised full sovereignty over Tibet. China first occupied Lhasa in 1720 but did not then displace the local authority conducted by the line of Dalai Lamas. From 1720 to 1950 the Chinese authority was intermittent and at times nonexistent. The Tibetan administration, however, has in the past entered into several treaties, sometimes with and sometimes without the concurrence of the Chinese government. The treaties between Tibet and Ladakh of 1684 and 1687 are cases in point. In the 1842 treaty between China, Tibet and Kashmir, China not only concurred in Tibet's right and power to take part in such formal legal transactions but considered Tibet and China to be equal parties. This administrative authority of Tibet was also seen in its independent conclusion of the 1852 agreement with the Maharaja of Kashmir,[16] and the treaty with Nepal in 1856 in which extra-territorial privileges were granted to Nepal and Tibet.[17] This last treaty was renewed by the government of the Republic of China in 1961 with minor adjustments. The convention of April 27, 1906, between China and Britain referred to the refusal of Tibet to recognize the validity of, or to carry into full effect the provisions of, the Anglo-Chinese convention of March 17, 1890, and the related regulations of December 5, 1893.[18] It also mentioned the fact that the 1904 Lhasa Convention between Tibet and Britain had been validly concluded and put into operation.

In an earlier instance, Tibet did not recognize the 1876 arrangement between China and Britain for a mission to be sent to Tibet. Early in the 20th century Tibet took advantage of the Chinese revolution of 1911, rose in revolt, expelled the Chinese troops, and declared its independence.[19] The events of 1911-12 mark the re-emergence of Tibet as a fully sovereign state, independent in fact and in law from Chinese control. Indeed, China was prepared in 1914 to accord to Tibet the right and power to conclude treaties not only with other nations but also with China. At the 1914 convention, the credentials of the Chinese plenipotentiary stated that Chen I-fen (Ivan Chen) "was hereby appointed special plenipotentiary for Tibetan negotiations." Moreover, the Chinese plenipotentiary accepted the credentials of the Tibetan plenipotentiary as being in order. It is thereby clear that India and China have often treated Tibet as being on an equal political footing. Without question, from 1914 to 1950, Tibet definitely controlled its own destiny.

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[16] Sir C. Aitchison, *Collection of Treaties, Engagement and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, 5th Rev. ed. (Calcutta: Government Printing Press, 1929), p. 43.

[17] Ibid., p. 50.

[18] K. Krishna Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

The arguments extended by India in the discussion leading to the 1961 boundary report were strong, valid and supported by legal documents, whereas Chinese territorial claims were unconvincing. Unable to succeed in her aims to achieve a large chunk of Indian territory by peaceful means, China, therefore, attacked the northern border of India.

The new massive thrust by China on October 20, 1962, was entirely unexpected in its scale and intensity. Such an attack must have required at least five or six weeks of preparation. In Ladakh the Chinese troops rapidly seized an area larger than that which had previously been claimed. In the NEFA area, they came far down the mountain slopes in several places and threatened the Assam Valley and its oil fields. Fighting broke out all along the boundary. The whole Indian nation appeared united. Three million ex-servicemen volunteered to rejoin the 500,000-man army. Workers, railwaymen, government employees and domestic servants offered to forgo their wages and hundred of thousands of women yielded their precious gold ornaments to help support the army. Nehru and Mrs Gandhi were weighed in gold donated by various people. It was apparent that the nation had one voice and there was not regional or local feelings throughout the country.

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[19] Charles Henry Alexandrowicz-Alexander, "The Legal Position of Tibet," *American Journal of International Law*, XLVIII, No, 2. (April, 1954), p. 270.

After gains in all sectors, the Chinese unilaterally announced a cease-fire on October 24, 1962. The Colombo-Plan nations suggested that both combatants should withdraw 20 kilometres in the western sector from the November 7, 1959, line. This line was not really acceptable to India but had been accepted as part of a package deal. India now insisted following the 1956 line of control, and pressed for complete withdrawal of Chinese troops from the central and eastern sectors except Tawang and Longju.

For more detailed evaluation, the Indian boundary is divided into three segments, the western sector including the Gilgit-Hunza and Ladakh portions; the middle sector the Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh portions; and an eastern sector including the North-East Frontier Agency (Fig. 31). The boundary in the western sector between Jammu and Kashmir and Sinkiang and Tibet is about 1,770 kilometres in length. The frontier between Sinkiang and the Pakistan-occupied portion of Kashmir is 480 kilometres long and involves a disputed area of about 13,000 to 15,500 square kilometres. The rest of this border is between Ladakh and Tibet. In the Western Sector the boundary runs along the Mustagh Range and the Aghil Range, across the Karakoram Pass via the Qara Tagh Pass, and along the main Kuen Lun ranges to a point east of longitude 80° E. and 24 kilometres north of Haji Langer. This boundary is an obvious physical boundary between the Gilgit area and Sinkiang following the main Karakoram watershed dividing the streams flowing into the Indus basin from those flowing into the Tarim basin.[20] Farther southeast, the boundary runs along the watershed across Lanak La, Kona La and Kepsang La, then follows the Chumesang River across Pangong Lake and the Kailash Range (Fig. 32). Here the boundary constitutes the watershed between the Indus system in India and the Khotan system in China. In this area China claims the Aksai Chin district, the Changmo Valley, Pangong Tso and the Spanggar Tso area of northeast Ladakh, as well as a strip of about 5,000 square kilometres down the entire length of eastern Ladakh.[21]

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[20] Alastair Lamb, *Asian Frontiers: Studies in a Continuing Problem* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1968), p. 102.

The Aksai Chin plateau is a kind of no-man's land. The area is so remote, rugged and uninhabited that some Indian leaders have regarded it as not worth enough for India to risk a real breach with China over it. The plateau is a desert area without a single blade of grass.

The whole of Ladakh is a sparsely populated area. It is, however, the highest inhabited country in the world. The topography is unique, consisting of very high mountains with high intervening valleys and scattered high plains. Recently the Ladakhis have adopted a blend of the Hindi and Munda tongues which also appears in the languages of some of the tribes of eastern India. They have traditionally had a status independent from Tibet and China, although they closely resemble the people of these two countries in race and culture. Ladakh is Tibetan in race which is a mixture of Indian and Mongoloid strain and Buddhist in religion. It had a long traditional association with India. The religious ties between Ladakh and Tibet have been strong ever since the centre of Lamaist Buddhism was established at Lhasa, but Tibet did not exercise significant political control over Ladakh at any time after the tenth century.

The western sector boundaries were defined by the treaties of 1665 and 1684 (Ladakh-Tibet agreements), and were confirmed by the 1842 Dogra-Ladakh agreement. The authoritative international commission of jurists concluded that the treaty was a tripartite treaty to which the Raja of Jammu, the Government of China and the Government of Tibet were signatories.[22] The boundary was again reaffirmed in an agreement between Tibet and Kashmir in 1842. This agreement stated that the boundary between Ladakh and Tibet would remain the same as before. The Government of China later contended that the 1842-treaty did not bind it because: (*a*) China had not sent a representative to participate in the negotiations concerning the conclusion of the

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[21] J. S. Bains, *India's International Disputes : A Legal Study* (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1962) p. 139.

[22] *White Paper II*, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

1842-treaty, nor had she ratified it; (*b*) the treaty in any case did not define or locate the Ladakh-Tibet boundary and only provided in general terms that Ladakh and Tibet would acknowledge each other's frontiers; and (*c*) Sinkiang's consent to the treaty was not obtained.[23] None of these allegations is valid. The provisions of the preamble to the treaty clearly mention the Emperor of China as a party. The treaty did not attempt to define the boundary but merely referred to the earlier established frontiers, because these frontiers were well known and did not require any formal delimitation.

In 1846-47 the Chinese government informed the British government that its boundaries on the southwest were sufficiently well established and well enough known that there was no need for additional measures in order to fix them.[24] Also, the Kashmir Atlas of 1868 depicted a well-authenticated boundary between Ladakh and Tibet. Even an official Chinese map of 1893 showed the boundary in this area the same as it is depicted in current official Indian maps. The official Tibetan Chronicles,[25] records of travellers, official and unofficial maps and surveys, the revenue records, and the construction of public works all fully support the Indian position.[26] India's possession of the Aksai Chin area was further confirmed by a British note to the Chinese government in 1899. The note explains that the boundary line does not show the Aksai Chin road on the Chinese side. China has not produced any concrete evidence to prove its actual exercise of control over the disputed territory.

Sinkiang became a province of China in 1884, and China, therefore, could not claim any Sinkiang rights in 1842, because it was not a part of China in 1842. Moreover, the Chinese maps and documents invariably recognized that Sinkiang did not extend south of the Kuen Lun Range. There is no continuous range which can be considered an effective barrier or a boundary south of the Kuen Lun Range. Pakistan, which had been in illegal occupation

[23] *White Paper III*, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62 and 86-89.

[24] Ibid., p. 87.

[25] Report of the Indian Officials on the Boundary Question, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

[26] Ibid., p. 137 and 140.

of the Hunza area of Kashmir for several years, ceded its right over that part of the area lying between the Aghil and Karakoram ranges on March 2, 1963. The people of the ceded area are Muslims of the Aga Khan sect and speak Urdu, Buru Shaski and Sheema languages.

In 1892 China accepted the Kuen Lun Range as the international frontier and, in fact, erected a pillar in support of its claim that the Kuen Lun Range was the frontier. The Indian surveys in the Aksai Chin area were openly conducted over a period of years, and their results were published as early as 1866. No subsequent protests were ever made by the Chinese.

Since 1954, however, the Chinese have repeatedly intruded deeper and deeper into this section. By November 7, 1959, the date of the renewed Chinese aggression, the line of actual control was not a line but rather a series of positions that the Chinese forces had progressively established in Indian territory. By 1962, the Chinese had penetrated far deeper than the November 7, 1969 line (Fig. 32). The Chinese occupation line now runs from 16 to 240 kilometres west of the traditional line. China is in actual occupation of about 31,000 square kilometres of Indian territory in this mostly uninhabited region. At the time of the Colombo proposal China occupied nearly 38,000 square kilometres in the Ladakh area alone.

A real settlement between India and China in the western sector is difficult to attain due to the conflicting claims. China insists that India has to surrender all its claims in the Aksai Chin area through which the Sinkiang-Tibet highway passes in order to settle the dispute. At one point in the negotiations the Peking government made it clear that all other territorial claims would be dropped in return for New Delhi's concession of Aksai Chin.[27] India agreed that China would be allowed to use the Aksai Chin road, but for civil purposes only. The Chinese did not approve of this provision since it prevented military usage of what was essentially a military road. Actually, the construction of the road was the starting-point of the entire dispute. The Chinese are now in full possession of the entire area which they claimed in Ladakh except for a small strip of territory in the Demchok region[28]

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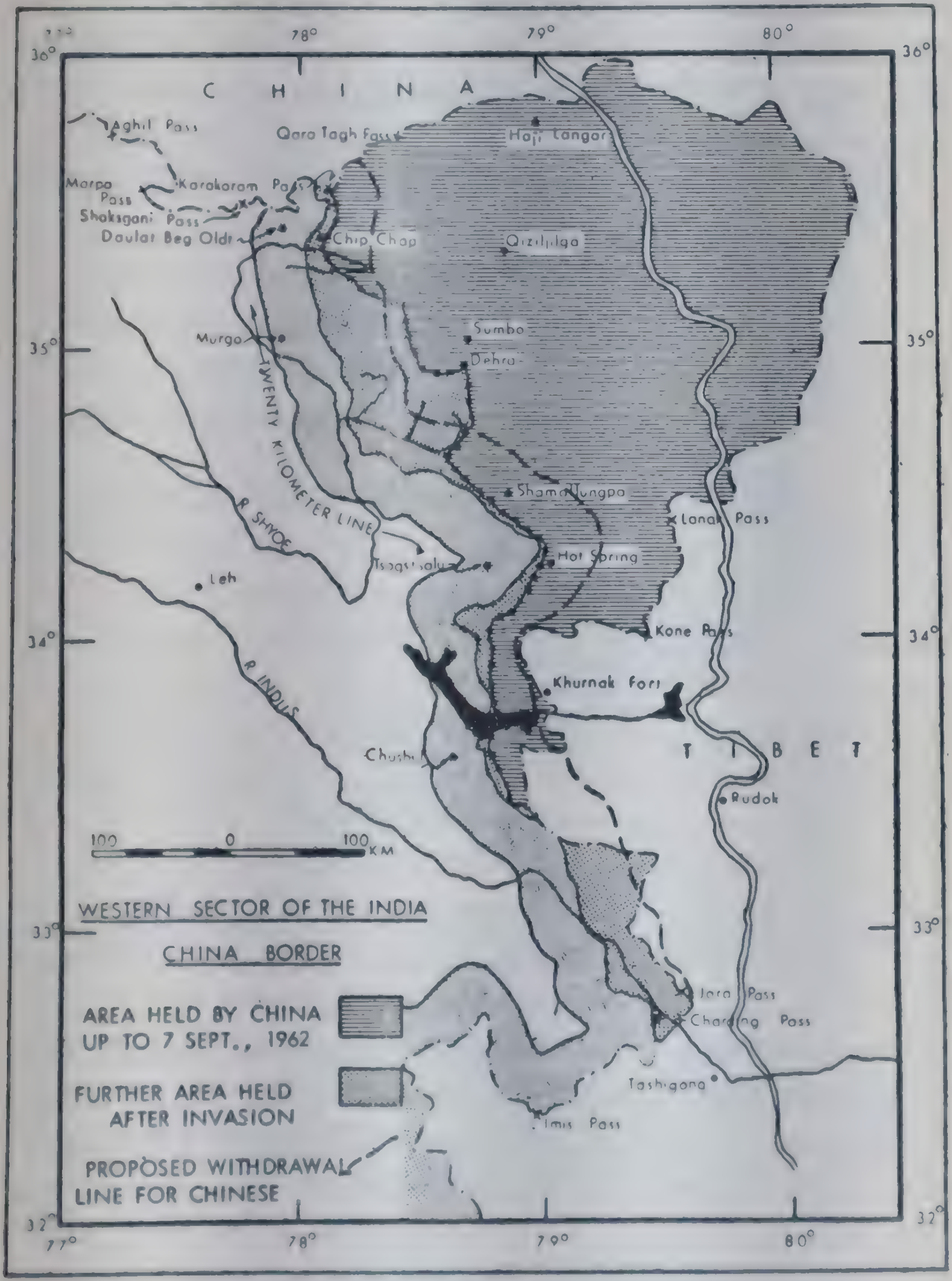
[27] Margaret W. Fisher and Leo E. Rose, "Ladakh and the Sino-Indian Border Crisis," *Asian Survey* II, No. 8 (October, 1962), p. 31.


CHINA
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Rudok
100 0 100 KM
WESTERN SECTOR OF THE INDIA CHINA BORDER
AREA HELD BY CHINA UP TO 7 SEPT., 1962
FURTHER AREA HELD AFTER INVASION
PROPOSED WITHDRAWAL LINE FOR CHINESE
Jara Pass
Chang La Pass
Tashigong
Imis Pass
77°
78°
79°
80°
36°
35°
34°
33°
32°

FIG. 32

(Fig. 32). The Chinese claims in Aksai Chin are based on their unilateral occupation and *de facto* administrative jurisdiction.

The boundary in the middle sector runs along the watershed from Ladakh to Nepal. It is 625 kilometres long and adjoins the states of Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh (Fig. 33). The traditional frontier of Himachal Pradesh follows the water parting between the Spiti and the Para Chu rivers and then continues along the watershed between the eastern and western tributaries of the Sutlej. The Uttar Pradesh boundary lies on the water parting between the Sutlej and the Kali, the Alakananda' and the Bhagirathi (Jadhganga). The boundary crosses the Sutlej near the Shipki La (pass) on the Himachal Pradesh-Tibet border. From there it runs along the watershed passes of Mana, Niti, Jungri-Bingri, Dharma and Lipu Lekh, finally joining the triple-point junction of China, Nepal and India. The Chinese claim nearly 1,300 square kilometres in this area, particularly in the Ari district of Tibet, Bara Hoti (which the Chinese call Wu je), Nilang-Jadhang, Sang, Tsungsha Malla, Lapthal, Chuve, Chuje, Shipki Pass and Pussing-Sumdo (Fig. 33).

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[28] J. S. Bains, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

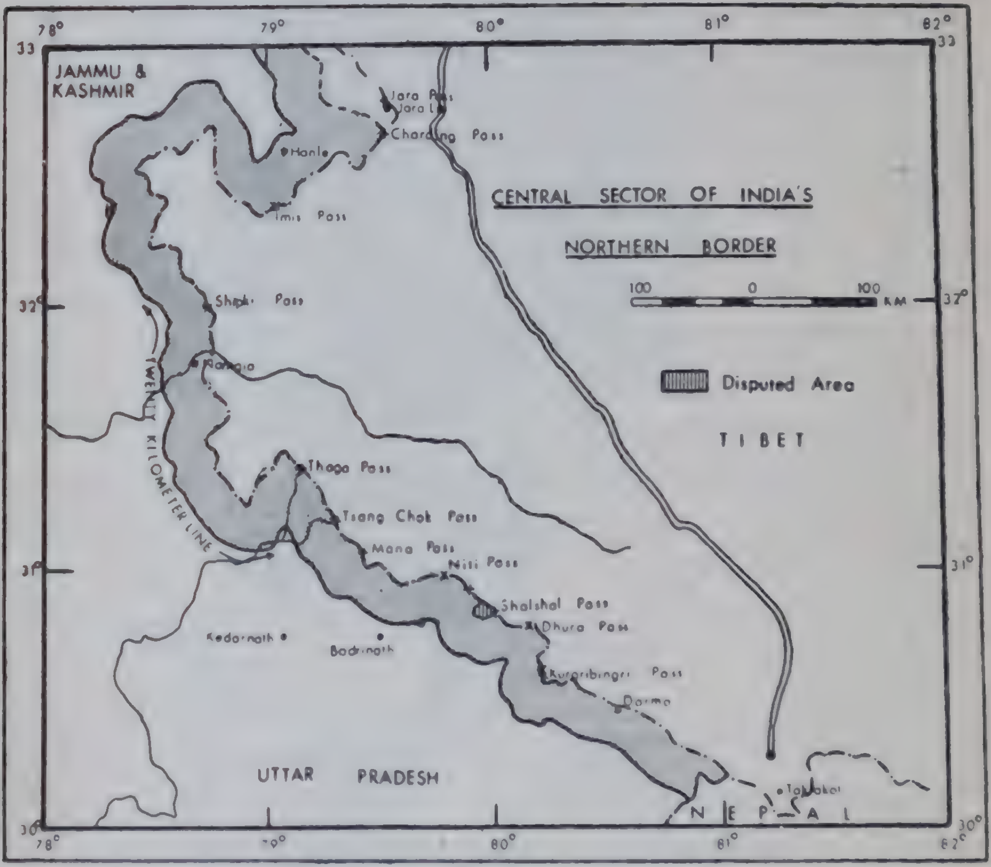
78°
79°
80°
81°
82°
33
JAMMU & KASHMIR
Jara Pass
Jara La
Chardang Pass
Hanle
Imis Pass
CENTRAL SECTOR OF INDIA'S NORTHERN BORDER
100 0 100 KM
32°
Shipki Pass
Namgia
TWENTY KILOMETER LINE
Disputed Area
TIBET
Thaga Pass
Tsang Chok Pass
Mana Pass
Niti Pass
Shalshal Pass
Dhura Pass
Kungribingri Pass
Darma
31°
Kedarnath
Badrinath
UTTAR PRADESH
Taklakot
NEPAL
30°

FIG. 33

Concerning these areas, the Chinese have asserted that Bara Hoti (Wu je) (with an area of about 4 square kilometres) and

Nilang-Jadhang belong to Tibet, since Tibet has been exercising jurisdiction over them. They also maintain that the Sang and Tsungsha areas, southwest of Tsaparang Dzong in Tibet, were gradually invaded and occupied by the British some 30 to 40 years ago and hence must be returned to proper legal authorities.[29] Bara Hoti, however, is south of the watershed and situated in the state of Uttar Pradesh between the Sutlej and the Alakananda rivers. In this area, the Chinese have recognised Tunjun La as the border pass. Bara Hoti is more than three kilometres south of Tunjun La. This segment of the boundary was confirmed by the Tibetan and British governments under the 1890 and 1919 treaties.[30] Local officials of the Garhwal district had been exercising administrative jurisdiction for centuries.

Sangcha Malla and Lapthal, both claimed by China, are other areas situated in the Almora district of Uttar Pradesh. They are from 3 to 10 kilometres south of the border. Effective Indian administration has persisted here, and neither the Chinese nor Tibetans have ever previously laid claim to them.[31] Another claim of China is on Nilang-Jadhang, an area of about 140 square kilometres situated south of the main watershed and north of the main Himalayan range. The main Himalayan range is not a water-parting range in this area, but the watershed is north of it. It has been administered by the Darbar of Tehri since A.D. 1677. The Chinese base their claims to Chuve and Chuje only by reason of having raised funds for religious purposes from these areas. The topographical surveys conducted by the British and Indian governments, as well as other maps, however, strongly support the Indian claim. Even a Chinese wall map published as recently as January, 1951, showed Chuve and Chuje situated within Indian territory.

In all these places, the collection of land revenue and other taxes; the exercise of civil, criminal and police jurisdiction; tours of officials; orders of local officials; census operations; the administration of forests; maintenance of schools; construction of roads; establishments of check posts; and the conducting of official surveys have all been under the jurisdiction of India.[32] Moreover, the Chinese show a gross lack of knowledge of the location and extent of the areas which they are claiming. They have gone so far as to ask India for details of the grid co-ordinates of areas over which they claim to exercise sovereignty.[33] China has not extended any evidence to support its claims, whether these were based on tradition, custom or administrative jurisdiction. China has of late recognized that most of the areas disputed by it in this sector have been under the control of India.[34]

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[29] *White Paper I*, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16.

[30] "Report of the Indian Officials on the Boundary Question," *op. cit.*, p. 97.

[31] *White Paper I*, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

All of the disputed areas just described are situated south of the six border passes which were mentioned in Article IV of the Sino-Indian Agreement of 1954. Although until recently there has never been any dispute about this sector of the boundary, the Chinese aim now seems to be to get control of all the important passes through which trade routes pass. Bara Hoti is a key place for border defence. China's claim to these areas is motivated by strategic reasons, since a major military base built here could easily dominate the entire Gangetic plain. The Indian Government apparently is not averse to negotiating and discussing minor changes along the border, even though its claim to sovereignty over the disputed areas is unassailable. According to the Colombo proposal, the general *status quo* will be maintained in the middle sector, although the local Bara Hoti dispute will be settled by negotiations.

Between the middle sector and the eastern sector, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan form a kind of zonal frontier between India and China. The boundaries of Sikkim and Bhutan are of concern to India, since both of these countries are bound by treaties with India, and their defence is India's responsibility. Sikkim's boundary with Tibet extends for a distance of about 225 kilometres. This line was approved by a convention between Britain and China, signed in Calcutta on March 17, 1890, and was demarcated in 1895.

[32] "Report of the Indian Officials on the Boundary Question," *op. cit.*, p.165.

[33] *White Paper II*, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-51.

[34] Gondkar Narayan Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

The Bhutan-Tibet boundary, which is about 500 kilometres long, was also explicitly demarcated in the Simla Treaty map, and the treaty is still valid. The Nepal-Indian boundary is a peaceful one and not disputed. The boundaries between Nepal and China, Sikkim and China, and Bhutan and China all follow the watershed principle.

The boundary in the eastern sector is 1,140 kilometres long and runs from the eastern limit of Bhutan to a point near the Talu Pass at the tri-junction of India, Tibet and Burma. This line is called the McMahon Line, after Mr Henry McMahon, the British representative who signed the 1913-14 Simla Convention. The boundary was established along the Himalayan crest of the northern watershed of the Brahmaputra, except where the Lohit, Dihang, Subansari and Nyamjang rivers broke through that watershed. The only variance from the watershed principle is near Miguitm and the two Tibetan pilgrim places of Tstokaro and Tsari Sarpa.

China in this eastern sector claims about 94,700 square kilometres of Indian territory, including the Kemeng Frontier Division, the Subansari Frontier Division, the Siang Division and three-fourths of the Lohit Division of the North-East Frontier Agency. In 1911 Tibet revolted against the Manchu Dynasty, and until the end of 1912 there were continuous skirmishes on the Sino-Tibetan frontier. In 1913, Tibet declared full independence. It was to resolve this conflict that the Simla Convention was called by Great Britain.[35] After full discussion, the three plenipotentiaries (Chinese, Tibetan and British), initialled the map and drew up the draft convention. The final draft of the Simla Convention, dated April 27, 1914, contained two copies of a map which delineated the boundary between inner and outer Tibet with red (India-China) and blue (Tibet-China) lines respectively. The document was signed and sealed by the Indian and Tibetan representatives on July 3, 1914. The status of Tibet at the time was undoubtedly that of an independent state. The Chinese plenipotentiary remained obdurate, however, and refused to sign because he did not agree to the proposed boundary between inner and outer Tibet (blue line). China raised no objection to the India-China boundary and made no protest when the agreement was published in the *Aitchison Volume* in 1929.[36]

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[35] K. Krishna Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

When Jawaharlal Nehru, on November 20, 1950, stated that in the eastern sector of India's northern boundary the McMahon Line was the official one, maps or no maps, China raised no protest. In 1956-57 the Chinese Government agreed to accept the McMahon Line as the boundary between China and Burma. Moreover, Chou En-Lai, about the same time, said that in view of the new developments and friendly relations which existed between India and China, the Chinese Government would give general recognition to the McMahon Line. The McMahon Line, then, did not create a new border, but rather merely confirmed the natural, traditional, ethnic and administrative boundary existent between India and Tibet—a boundary which had been recognized for centuries before the Christian era and which had been referred to in the great Sanskrit epics such as the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. The British-Indian government prior to Indian independence, exercised authority affecting the legal rights and all civil and criminal affairs of the people within the tribal areas, both among themselves and between them and the peoples living on the plains.[37] Since 1947, Indian welfare legislation has been operative in the region.

Suddenly in 1959 the Chinese contended that the so-called McMahon Line was a product of the British imperialistic policy of aggression against the Tibetan region of China and reminded India that it had never been recognized by any Chinese central government and was, therefore, decidedly illegal.[38] Tibetan rule, however, had never been extended to the south of the McMahon Line. Moreover, the people of NEFA are of the same ethnic stock as the other hill tribes of Assam, and they have no kinship with the Tibetans as contended by China. The Indians exercised administrative jurisdiction in this area long before 1914. Prior to

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[36] Sir C. Aitchison, *op. cit.*

[37] *Report of the Indian Officials on the Boundary Question, op. cit.*, pp. 202-206.

[38] *White Paper II, op. cit.*, p. 29.

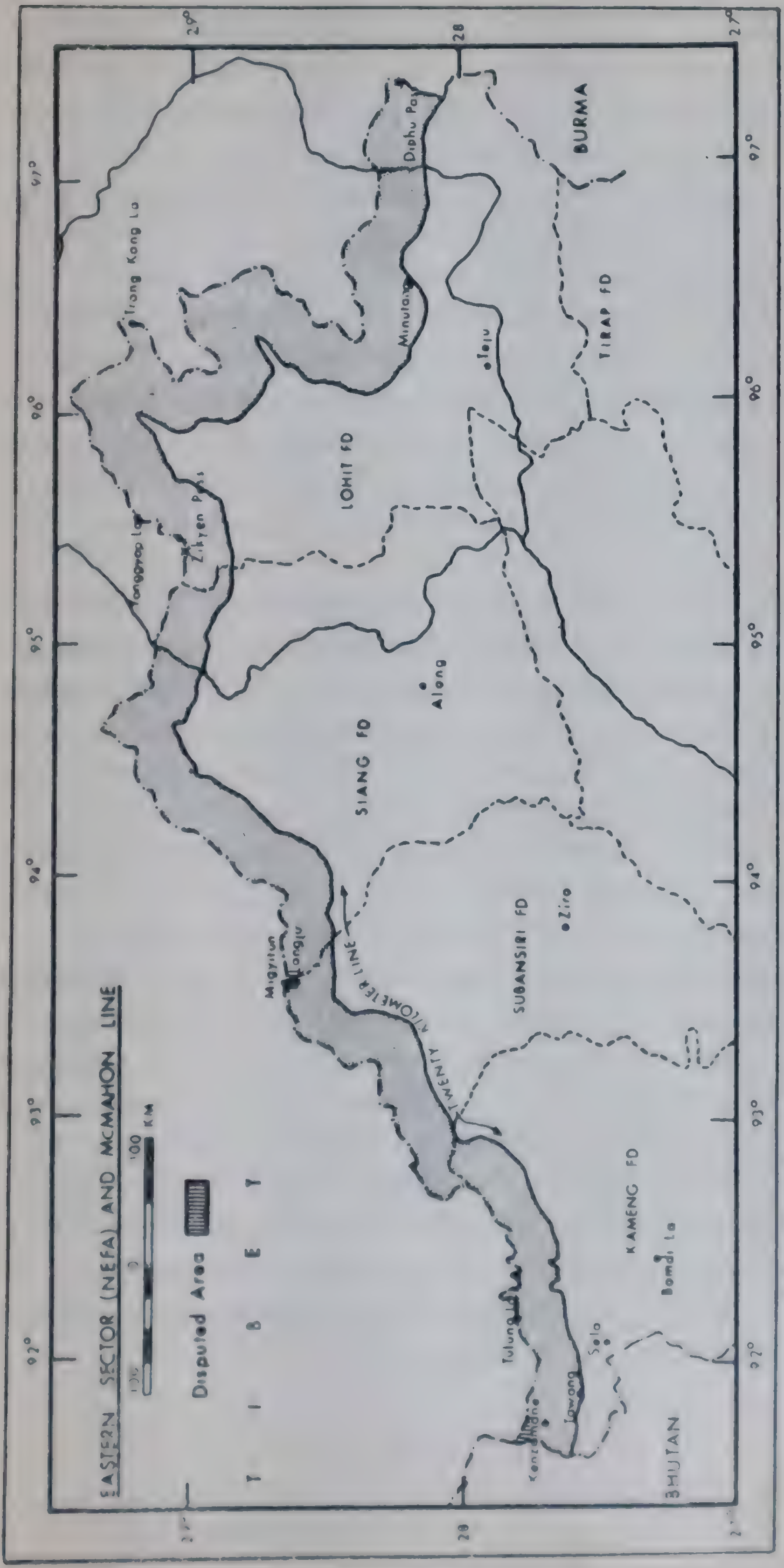
EASTERN SECTOR (NEFA) AND McMAHON LINE
100 0 100 KM
Disputed Area
T I B E T
BURMA
BHUTAN
LOHIT FD
SIANG FD
SUBANSIRI FD
KAMENG FD
TIRAP FD
Trong Kang La
Diphu Pass
Minutang
Teju
Along
Ziro
Zikyen Pass
Yonggyap La
Migyitun
Longju
TWENTY KILOMETER LINE
Tulung La
Khinzemane
Towang
Se La
Bomdi La
29°
28
27°
92°
93°
94°
95°
96°
97°

FIG. 34

1952 China had not produced even one map or chart, or any other proof, to show the alignment of the boundary which it now professed to claim. India, on the other hand, has been able to produce several maps, including some of Chinese origin, showing the boundary alignment as the McMahon Line. The British after 1914 made no attempt to create a treaty basis for this boundary.[39]

The Chinese expanded their military activities in August, 1959, by launching a massive attack on India in late 1962. On October 27, 1962, China occupied the Thagla Ridge, Dhola, Tse Dong, Tawang, Bomdila, Walong, and the Longju and Sela outposts in the NEFA area (Fig. 34). Just before this massive offensive the Peking radio broadcasted that China absolutely could not permit the establishment of a military bridgehead in any area near the Chinese border.

The dispute over the Tawang and Longju areas was the most critical in this section. China argued that Tibet had previously exercised authority over these areas and that such authority should be transferred to China. In fact, however, only religious gifts and donations had been collected by Tibet from the Tawang area. The British administration had allowed this practice as a friendly gesture, although Britain, and later India, actually administered the region. The Colombo proposal of December, 1962, entitled India and China to move their forces up to the McMahon Line except in the Thagla and Longju areas, which were to be subject to negotiations. The Indian forces thus moved to the south of the line of actual control; India suggested that if the Chinese would withdraw from Longju, the Government of India would not re-occupy that area pending further discussion, but China rejected the proposal. The McMahon Line is the real cultural, natural, administrative and traditional boundary between India and China. According to Lamb, the McMahon Line is, on the whole, quite a fair and reasonable boundary between China and India along the Assam Himalayas.[40]

[39] Alastair Lamb., *Asian Frontier Studies in a Continuing Problem*, *op. cit.* p. 128.

[40] Alastair Lamb. *The India-China Border: The Origin of the Disputed Boundaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 169.

Considering the India-China boundary problem in its entirety, it seems fair to say that India has continued to explore avenues to a peaceful settlement in order not to jeopardize international peace and security. India accepted the Colombo proposal, whereas China accepted it only with some reservations. India has offered to refer the dispute to the International Court or to arbitration whereas China has rejected that idea. India is even now ready to concede some small pockets of territory here and there as a compromise in order to help effect a settlement.

China, on the other hand, has sought to capitalize on its aggression. In an attempt to emphasize India's alleged obduracy and to isolate it diplomatically, the Chinese have called attention to the existence of their friendly and uncontested borders with Burma (1960), with Nepal (1961), with Mongolia (1962), with Pakistan (1963), and with Afghanistan (1963). It might be mentioned that the border with Burma follows the McMahon Line for a considerable distance, that the border with Nepal follows a watershed, and that the agreed boundary with Pakistan accords to China some territory which India rightfully regards as its own. It is surprising to note the contrasting attitudes of China whereby it had admitted the McMahon Line as her frontier with Burma but in the adjacent region of India not only declaims against its illegality but, on the other hand, claims about 94.700 square kilometres of territory. China wanted to keep Burma and Nepal contended but single out India's claims covering thousands of square kilometres. This double standard is to achieve various objectives against India particularly the leadership of the Asian world. China has made it clear that there can be no negotiations about the Aksai Chin area, but suggests that a negotiated settlement might be possible on the McMahon Line, about which China has expressed a willingness to take a realistic view.[41]

The aim of the Chinese invasion of 1962 was to deprive India of its moral leadership in the world, especially among the Afro-Asian nations, and to put pressure on it to join the socialist camp. China's collusion with Pakistan is a clear indication of this political ambition. After India appealed to some of the Western powers for arms and had actually begun to receive them, China appeared to be unprepared to counter such a move fortunately and was unwilling to let the conflict develop into one such as occurred in Korea. China, it seems, had miscalculated in its political power strategy. It thought that the war would topple the Nehru Government and that the Indian Communists could then assume power. India's unity in the face of Chinese aggression was unanticipated. For a time, internal agitation ceased and unity reigned. China's abortive action was motivated not by law, custom, treaties, the facts of geography or of administration, but rather by purely ideological, political and strategic considerations.

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[41] C. N. Satyapalan, "The Sino-Indian Border Conflict," *Orbis*, VIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1964), p. 379.

THE INDO-PAKISTAN BOUNDARY

Just before independence day, August 15, 1947, chaos prevailed in Punjab and Bengal areas. These ethnically mixed states rocked under an orgy of insensate communal rioting and murder, generated by the pernicious two-nation theory and its attendant cult of hate.[42] The boundaries of East and West Pakistan were finalized on communal grounds. Sir Cyril Radcliffe, charged with establishing the new international boundaries, obviously had great difficulty in balancing the simple Muslim claim to territory on a population basis against the undeniably cogent economic and social arguments advanced by the other side, complicated as these were by the explosive political situation.[43] Radcliffe tried to be fair, but fairness was difficult when the facts on which claims were based were poorly substantiated, and the claims were too conflicting. The Indo-Pakistan boundary is divided into the East and West Pakistan boundaries for the purpose of this study.

The West Pakistan boundary adjoins the Rann of Kutch (Gujarat State), Rajasthan, Punjab and Kashmir. Under the Radcliffe Award the boundary was well defined and partly demarcated on the ground. Pakistan, however, asserted that the boundary in the Rann of Kutch area was not delimited. It declared that the Rann was not a marsh but a land-locked sea or inland lake, and therefore, it should be divided into half between India and Pakistan. The British administration in India before the partition, however, had formally recognized the Rann as a marsh and not as a lake or inland sea. According to *Webster's Geographical Dictionary*, Rann denotes a "large salt marsh." The United States newspapers described the Rann as a salt-flat or marsh. Rann is an Indian word which means desert or salt marsh. From November to May in the retreating monsoon season, when there is no rain and the tidal waves recede, the swamp dries up and becomes a salt waste, and only then is the area passable. The Rann of Kutch covers an area of 20,720 square kilometres of salt flats, brackish ponds and marsh, interrupted by a few rocky elevations.

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[42] P. P. Karan, "Indo-Pakistan Boundaries," *The Indian Geographical Journal*, XXVIII, Nos. 1 and 3 (January-March, 1953), p. 20.

[43] O. K. H. Spate, "The Partition of the Punjab and of Bengal," *The Geographical Journal*, CX, Nos. 4-6 (October-December, 1947), p. 210-211.

Pakistan claimed 9,065 square kilometres of the Rann of Kutch, and in 1965 its troops invaded the area and reached far inside Indian territory. The Prime Minister of Britain intervened, and the dispute was referred to a boundary tribunal consisting of Gunner Lagergren of Switzerland, as president, Ales Bebler of Yugoslavia as Indian representative, and Nasrollah Entezam of Iran as Pakistani representative. The tribunal's award contains 10,000 pieces of evidence and 350 maps. India produced maps and records published prior to 1947 which showed that the Rann of Kutch belonged to the Kutch State which after independence had become a part of Gujarat. Various documents issued on the authority of the political department of the British Government of India showing political changes in 1937, 1938, 1939 and 1942, clearly depicted the Rann of Kutch within the western states' agency and never a part of the Sind province.[44] Even after the partition of India and Pakistan there was no open dispute regarding the border. The Kutch tribunal, however, awarded 906.5 square kilometres to Pakistan, nearly 10 per cent of its claim, in a decision announced on February 19, 1968 (Fig. 35). Ales Bebler

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[44] K. C. Saxena, "The Kutch Award in Perspective," *Socialist Congressmen*, VII, No. 22 (March, 7, 1968), p. 18.

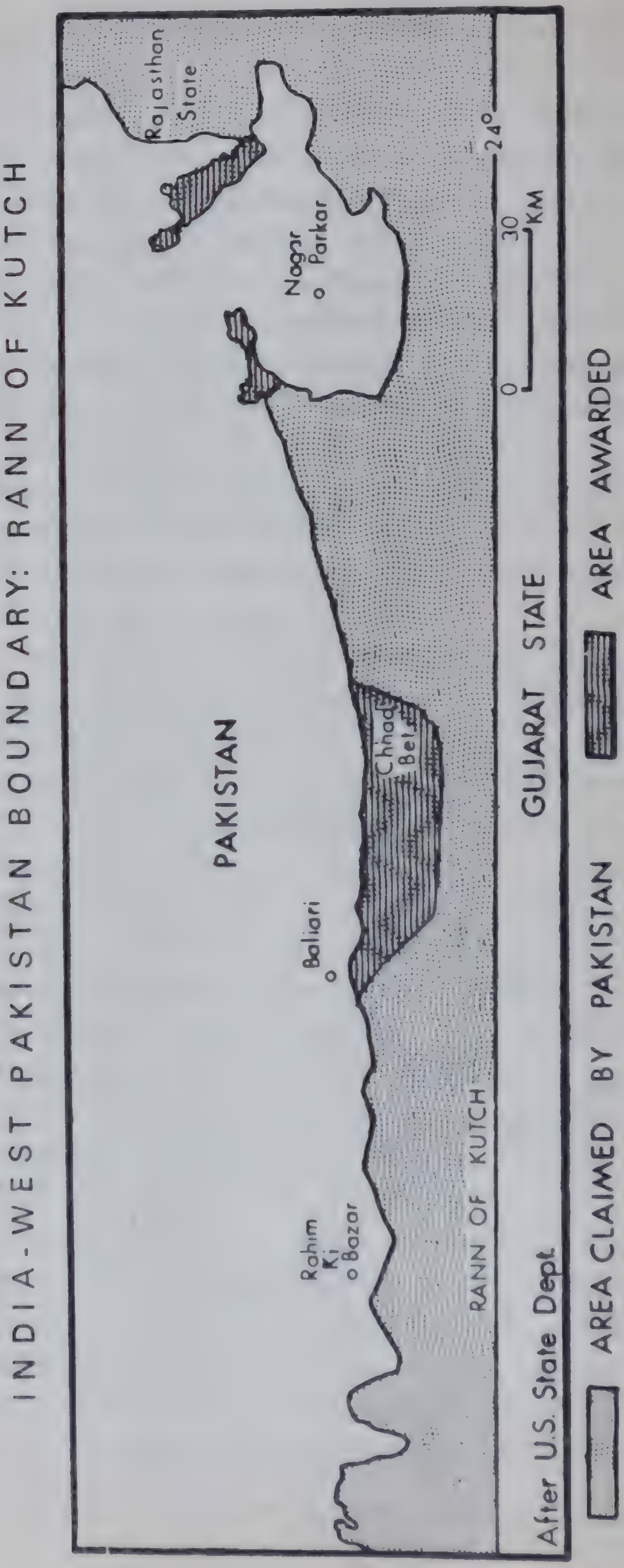
INDIA-WEST PAKISTAN BOUNDARY: RANN OF KUTCH
Rajasthan State
Nagar Parkar
24°
0
30 KM
PAKISTAN
Chhad Bet
Baliari
Rahim Ki Bazar
RANN OF KUTCH
GUJARAT STATE
After U.S. State Dept.
AREA CLAIMED BY PAKISTAN
AREA AWARDED

FIG. 35

abstained from the judgment, as he felt it was not just to India in the light of the evidence available. Only by launching an offensive attack, he felt, had Pakistan acquired any of this Indian territory. The award gave Pakistan two inlets on either side of Nagar Parker peninsula and a marginal area south of Rahim ki Bazar, including Pirol Valo Kun as well as Dhara Banni and Chad Bet. The Nagar Parker peninsular areas were given to Pakistan because they were surrounded by Pakistani territory. M.C. Chagla reacted by saying that the Kutch award seemed to be based more on political rather than on judicial considerations. Finally, both sides accepted the award. The demarcation of the Kutch-West Pakistan border in accordance with the international tribunal award proceeded smoothly and was completed by early June, 1969.

The rest of the West Pakistan boundary was delimited by the Radcliffe Award on communal and economic grounds. A part of Kashmir occupied by Pakistan with continuing threats on the Kashmir border is a regular feature of the Indian defence problem.

Of the total border of 3,910 kilometres between East Pakistan and India, nearly 2,450 kilometres has been demarcated on the ground. The establishment of this boundary provoked a sharp comment from the non-Muslims in Bengal who protested against the arbitrary transfer of Khulna, a Hindu-majority district with 49.14 per cent Muslims to East Bengal.[45] The cutting of a road from Purnea to Darjeeling could have been avoided by allotting to India a strip of territory of the Khulna district some 16 by three kilometres. India also resented the loss of the Chittagong hill tract and Jalpaiguri, which were respectively 97.6 per cent and 77 per cent non-Muslim. Pakistan claimed these areas on the grounds of their non-contiguity with other Hindu areas, though in fact the area of Jalpaiguri adjoined Hindu Bihar. On purely geographical and economic grounds there should have been no partition of Bengal at all. The East Pakistan-West Bengal boundary follows the principle of communal majorities more closely than in Punjab, but probably with less reason, and it rather seems to favour the Muslims.[46] In the Cooch Behar region, the boundary award left a number of small enclaves of Indian and Pakistan territory on either side of the border. In fact, the areas on the Indian side had been in possession of India

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[45] P. P. Karan, "Indo-Pakistan Boundaries," *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[46] O. K. H. Spate, "*The Partition of the Punjab and Bengal*," *op. cit.*, p. 211.

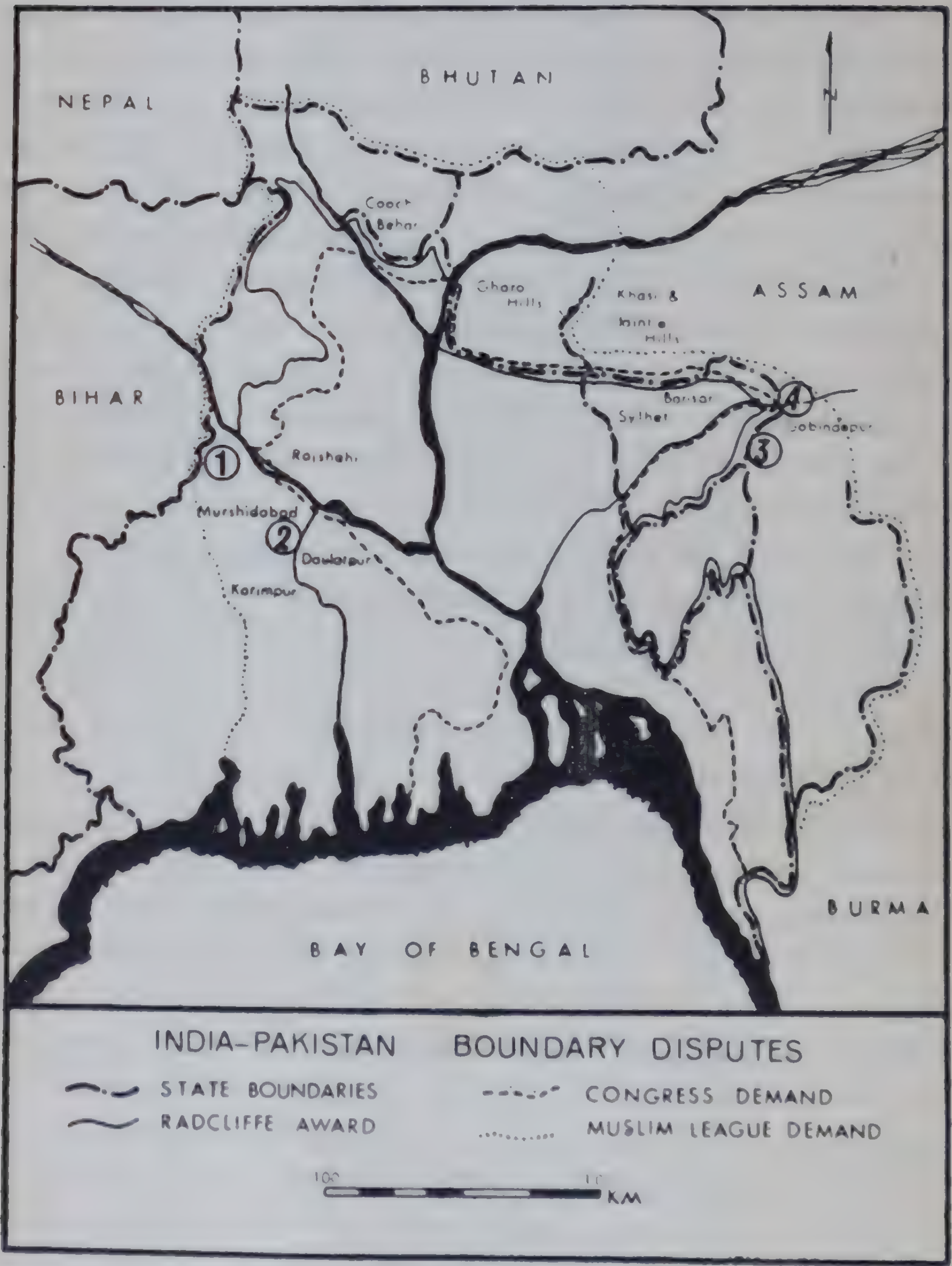
NEPAL
BHUTAN
N
Cooch Behar
Garo Hills
Khasi & Jaintia Hills
ASSAM
BIHAR
Sylhet
Rajshahi
①
Murshidabad
②
Daulatpur
Karimpur
③
④
BURMA
BAY OF BENGAL
INDIA-PAKISTAN BOUNDARY DISPUTES
STATE BOUNDARIES
RADCLIFFE AWARD
CONGRESS DEMAND
MUSLIM LEAGUE DEMAND
100
KM

Fig. 36

and the areas on the Pakistan side in the possession of Pakistan. The Nehru-Noon discussion of 1958 had resolved by 1960 a number of problems including that of the Cooch Behar region (Fig. 36). Several disputes were referred to a tribunal in which the judge, Justice A. Bagge of Sweden, had been elected by both the parties

There were four areas of overlapping claims. The first was between Rajshahi (Pakistan) and Murshidabad (India), in a district where the channel of the Ganges fluctuates frequently and the boundary has shifted several times (Fig. 36). The award here was in favour of India. The northern portion of the district boundary was confirmed as the international boundary. Another disputed area was along the West Bengal-East Pakistan border between Karimpur (India) and Daulatpur (Pakistan). In this instance the Radcliffe Award was amended and half way line in the Mathabhanga River was designated to form the boundary. Pakistan gained nearly 13 square kilometres from this award.[47] A third disputed area, this one between East Pakistan and Assam, was in the Sylhet district of Pakistan and the Garo, Khasi and Jaintia Hills districts of India. This is a densely forested area, and hence demarcation is difficult. The Radcliffe Award was confirmed, and India's claim was sustained. Finally, a dispute existed in the boundary zone between Barisari and Gobindpur, and here no compromise solution has yet been reached.

Still another disputed area is the "Berubari Union No. 12" which has an area of 22.7 square kilometres, half of which under the arbitration award would be given to Pakistan. Berubari is a village on the West Bengal-East Pakistan border in the Jalpaiguri district. According to the agreement of September 10, 1958, the division should be made in such a manner that the Cooch Behar enclaves between Pachagar Thana of East Pakistan and Berubari Union No. 12 of Jalpaiguri Thana of West Bengal will remain connected as at present with Indian territory and will remain with India. The Cooch Behar enclaves lower down between Boda Thana of East Pakistan and Berubari Union No. 12 will be exchanged along with the general exchange of enclaves and will go to Pakistan.[48] In February, 1968, the Bengal High Court passed a stay order on the transfer of the territory. The court argued that by virtue of an agreement (Nehru-Noon agreement of 1958) the property of the citizens of Berubari could not be transferred to a foreign state. The territory is still under Indian control. In the Lathitilla-Damabari area a district of 748 bighas, about 200 hectares, was illegally occupied by Pakistan in 1962.

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[47] A. Tayyeb, *Pakistan: A Political Geography* (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 92-94.

[48] *Extract from the Note Containing the Agreement of September 10, 1958 between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan* (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1958).

Of the 2,272 kilometres of international border between West Bengal and East Pakistan, only 153 kilometres are still to be demarcated. Some boundary pillars have been put in place, but these exist at great intervals, and the legal line between any two is not necessarily straight. The demarcation can only be successful if the intentions of both neighbours are friendly. Numerous international boundaries in various parts of the world are not demarcated on the ground, but friendly relations and respect for law help to maintain peaceful borders.

THE INDIA-BURMA BOUNDARY

The India-Burma boundary is about 1,450 kilometres long from its southern extremity to its northern end which is the tri-junction of the boundaries of India, Burma and China. The boundary line passes through deeply forested hill country, with the Mizo Hills, Manipur and Nagaland on the Indian side, and the Chin Hills, Naga Hills and Kachin State on the Burma side. This line has always been regarded by the natives of the region as an arbitrary line drawn by the British under the treaty of Yundaboo in 1826.[49] The Chins and the Arakanese of Burma are of the same stock as the Mizos of India. On the Burmese side, Communist-supported rebels are playing a significant part in instigating Karens, Kachins and Shans to fight for their independence from Burma. Similarly, on the Indian side, the Nagas, Mizos and Assam Hill people are receiving aid and encouragement from the Chinese and Burmese Communists. The Burmese and Indian governments, therefore, have sealed off their borders for protection from the

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[49] Shillong Gial Vung, "Frontiers of Freedom," *Far Eastern Economic Review*, XLI, No. 33 (August 15, 1968), p. 318.

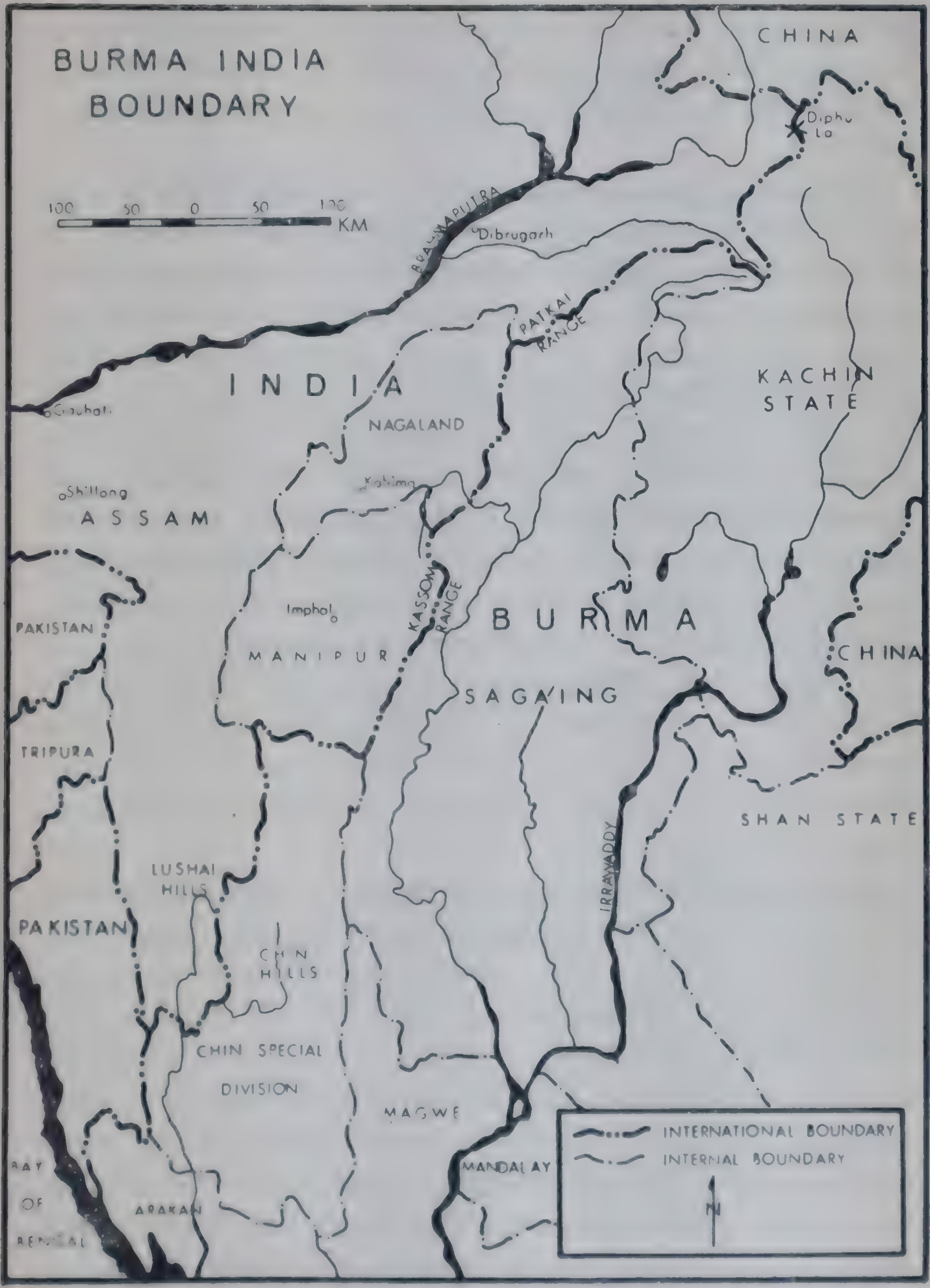
BURMA INDIA BOUNDARY
100 50 0 50 100 KM
CHINA
Diphu La
BRAHMAPUTRA
Dibrugarh
PATKAI RANGE
INDIA
KACHIN STATE
Gauhati
NAGALAND
Kohima
Shillong
ASSAM
PAKISTAN
Imphal
KASSOM RANGE
BURMA
MANIPUR
CHINA
SAGAING
TRIPURA
SHAN STATE
IRRAWADDY
LUSHAI HILLS
PAKISTAN
CHIN HILLS
CHIN SPECIAL DIVISION
MAGWE
INTERNATIONAL BOUNDARY
INTERNAL BOUNDARY
BAY OF BENGAL
MANDALAY
ARAKAN
N

FIG. 37

communist rebels, in an effort to stop the secret supply of arms from China and to keep the Chinese from smuggling goods into India. Burma's help in sealing of the border was a gesture of friendship. This India-Burma boundary has always been a friendly one, and there has never been a dispute regarding any part of it.

The India-Burma boundary is based on natural features and was defined in the pre-independence period.[50] Nearly 870 kilometres of the boundary follows major or minor watersheds, and about one-third coincides with median lines of streams and rivers. The remainder of the border comprises straight lines between established boundary pillars. It was delimited precisely by a bilateral treaty signed on March 10, 1967, although the boundary had been a traditional one, and there was no special need for delimiting or demarcating it. In reconsidering their friendly relations, both nations felt that their frontier should be formalized. Even after the demarcation the tribal people inhabiting the border zone will be permitted to migrate up to 20 kilometres on either side of the border. The demarcation is now under way. Some difficulty in demarcation may arise near the Dhipu Pass, the tri-junction between India, Burma and China. India's claim has been that the Dhipu Pass is not the tri-junction but rather a few kilometres south of it (Fig. 37).

The India-Burma boundary will probably remain peaceful in the future, but the India-China and India-Pakistan borders may continue to cause trouble, because the Chinese communist philosophy of expansionism and war is radically different from India's democratic, secular principle of peaceful co-existence. India and Pakistan also differ in their philosophical and political attitudes. Pakistan's antagonism towards India and its recent collusion with China perpetuates the dangerous border situation. The external threats which confront it may help to keep India united internally and assist in developing a strong nationalist feeling.

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[50] "India-Burma Boundary Commission," *Indian and Foreign Review*, No. 2. (November 1, 1967), p. 7.

CHAPTER VII

India's Relations with Her Neighbours and the World

Southern Asia will doubtless continue to be among the world's most politically volatile areas. In this context India's relationships with its neighbours and with the major Communist and anti-Communist power-blocs have a direct bearing on the stability and peace of the region. Currently, when southeast Asia is threatened with a tide of Communist expansion south of the Chinese mainland, the United States is actively helping the people of the region to resist this tide while maintaining their sovereignty. The long-range destiny of the Indian people is surely tied up with that of the people of southeast Asia. India's present and future relations with the democratic world, particularly with the United States, are of special significance.

Good relationships with her immediate neighbours are of obvious importance to the stability and peace of the Indian nation as well as to southeast Asia at large. At present, India has peaceful relationships with Nepal, Burma and Ceylon, but a rather hostile relationship with Pakistan and China, although it had friendly relations with China until 1959. Relations with both the United States and the Soviet Union are friendly. In support of India's national interest, Nehru and his successors, i.e. Lal Bahadur Shastri and Mrs Indira Gandhi, have followed the principle of non-alignment and of non-involvement in military pacts.

INDIA'S RELATIONS WITH CHINA

Relations between India and China were cordial for more than 2,000 years. Cultural and spiritual ties were developed with the introduction of Buddhism in China in the second century B.C. In modern times, western involvement in both countries created similar reactions towards colonialism. Until the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, on October 1, 1949, India has enjoyed peaceful relations with whatever kind of regime was in power in China, and she was the second of the non-Communist nations to recognize the new Communist government. Friendship with China was one of the most important elements in India's foreign policy throughout the 1950s.[1] India took the lead in attempting to secure membership for the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. In doing so, Prime Minister Nehru must have been deeply concerned with the supreme need for peace, particularly in Asia, since the only power that might conceivably have wanted to disturb the peace was China, which did have certain long-standing irridentist ambitions. India and China signed a trade and intercourse agreement in 1954, based on the five principles of peaceful co-existence: (1) mutual respect of territorial integrity and sovereignty, (2) mutual non-aggression, (3) mutual non-interference in internal affairs, (4) equality and mutual benefit and (5) peaceful co-existence.

Between 1954 and January, 1957, Chou En-lai visited India four times and always received a warm welcome. During this period "*Hindi Chini Bhai Bhai*" (Indians and Chinese are brothers) was a popular slogan, and India openly supported China's claim on Formosa and the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu. India also favoured China in the Korean war crisis as evidenced by its refusal to label North Korea as an aggressor. India had already recognized the rights of China in Tibet in 1951 for the sake of establishing friendship and peace in that region. Although China's general attitude at the time was somewhat imperialistic and expansionist, she showed a different face to India while she was busy in Korea. In October, 1954, Chou En-lai said that the friendly co-operation of the 960,000,000 people of India and China constituted an important factor in safeguarding peace in Asia and the world.[2] China's attitude towards India changed radically, however, after the Tibetan revolt when India gave political asylum to the Dalai Lama.

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[1] Edward D'Cruz, *India: The Quest for Nationhood* (New Delhi: Lalvani Publishing House, 1967), p. 189.

After the Communist regime gained power in China in October, 1949, the new Chinese leaders began to disseminate Communist ideology in India and to help the Communist forces to grow in strength and numbers. Mao Tse-tung sent a message to B. T. Ranadive, the Secretary of the Communist Party of India at that time, encouraging him in his desire to overthrow the Government of India by force. He expressed the hope that "relying on the brave Communist Party ... India would not remain long under the yoke of imperialism and its collaborators," and that "like free China, a free India would one day emerge in the socialist and people's democratic family."[3] China's obvious intention was to become the undisputed leader of Asia. To achieve this leadership Mao Tse-tung stated that "power grows out of the barrel of a gun," and further, that "the world can be organized only by means of the rifle."[4] As Mr Paul Martin, the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, said in Parliament, "Mao Tse-tung has pointed out that after the First World War, there were 200 million Communists and after the second 900 million; so he predicts that after the third, Communism will take over what remains of the world."[5]

Mao stated on November 18, 1957, in Moscow that:

> There are now two winds in the world: the east wind and the west wind. There is a saying in China: "If the east wind does not

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[2] P. C. Chakravarti, *India's China Policy* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1962) p. 61.

[3] *India, Tibet and China* (Bombay: Democratic Research Press, 1959), p. 22.

[4] B. K. Acharya, *India and China: A Brief Survey* (New Delhi: Information Service of India, Government of India, 1965), p. 2.

[5] *India and China: A Brief Survey* (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1966), p. 2.

> prevail over the west wind, then the west wind will prevail over the east wind." I think the characteristic of the current situation is that the east wind prevails over the west wind; that is, the strength of socialism exceeds the strength of imperialism.[6]

China's strategy in southern and southeastern Asia has been synonymous to that of post-war Russia in wanting to create satellite states around its periphery. The occupation of Tibet was the first step towards this goal and served to shift the buffer zone to the Himalayan border. Acharya Kripalani prophetically declared that China had demolished a buffer zone. In international politics, he said, when a buffer state is abolished by a powerful nation, it is considered to have aggressive designs on its neighbours.[7] For the first time in history, China stationed troops along the 3,200 kilometres of India's northern frontier and established Chinese air bases in Tibet, making India's great cities vulnerable to air strikes.

China's propaganda branded India as the "running dog of American imperialism," and Nehru as "a liar, a rumour-monger and an apostate to Afro-Asian solidarity." Peking, convinced that the Indian independence movement had fallen under control of the landlord class, was sure of the perpetuation of imperialism and the retention of the imperialistic economic influence on India. India's acceptance of the American aid programme and subsequent dependence on American delivery of agricultural products and industrial equipment provided further evidence of India's attitude in the eyes of Chinese leaders. Ringed by two hostile powers, the Soviet Union on the landward side and the United States on its seaward margin, Communist China was concerned with India because of the latter's relationship with these powers.[8] In becoming more aggressive on its southern border, China seemed to be expressing a deep-seated feeling of rivalry with India.

In order to challenge the Soviet Union for the ideological leader-

[6] A. Doak Barnett, *Communist China and Asia: Challenge to American Policy* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960), pp. 106-107.

[7] John Rowland, *A History of Sino-Indian Relations: Hostile Co-Existence* (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, Inc., 1967), p. 86.

[8] Ibid., p. 178.

ship of international Communism, China felt that it had to establish itself as an Asian superpower. Its animosity towards India seems to derive from this ambition, an aspect of which is the border conflict. It has been partially successful in reducing Indian influence in the border states of Nepal and Bhutan. Marshal Chen Yi admitted that Chinese friendship for Pakistan stemmed from the elementary principle that one should be friendly with the enemies of one's enemies.[9] A chain of events followed: border intrusions, the invasion of 1962, open collusion with Pakistan, the ultimatum to India during the India-Pakistan war of 1965, the detachment of Nepal from India's sphere of influence, anti-Indian propaganda in Sikkim and Bhutan, open support and arms assistance to the Nagas and Mizos in Assam, and general support of other disruptive elements in India. All of these activities seem designed to eliminate India as a rival from the Afro-Asian scene and to re-establish China as a powerful "middle kingdom," surrounded by tribute-paying, barbarous, doctrinal and politically oriented satellites.[10]

The India-China border conflict, then, is one aspect of the deeper contest which will determine whether democracy and freedom will survive in Asia or whether Communism and tyranny will hold sway over the whole of that continent. If India is humiliated and subsequently destroyed, China will perhaps then not need to use coercion with the smaller countries of southern and southeastern Asia in order to make them satellite states. If India becomes Communist, this entire area will face the sweeping tide and succumb.

INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Pakistan, like China, is hostile towards India but with obviously different objectives. The story of India-Pakistan relations since independence has been full of contradictions, suspicion, distrust, frustration, communal fanaticism and ill-will, a continuation of the same circumstances that led to partition in 1947.[11] India and Pakistan, as sovereign nations, were conceived in bitterness, and the same mood has persisted in both. The independent emergence of Pakistan was the result of opposing religious ideologies. Islam is the most important element in the concept of Pakistani nationhood, and the religious factor has been regarded as essential for the viability of Pakistani nationhood. The constitution of Pakistan declares that only a Muslim can be the head of the State and the State is to be known as the "Islamic Republic of Pakistan."

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[9] *Ministry of External Affairs Report 1966-67* (New Delhi: Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1967), p. 15.

[10] P. C. Chakravarti, "Evolution of India's Northern Borders," *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs*, XXIV, No. 1 (January-March, 1968), p. 16.

Indian leaders, on the other hand, rejected the concept of the two-nation theory, i.e. the Hindus were one nation and the Muslims were another. Nehru said, "We cannot accept that because once we accept that nationality goes by religion, we break up our whole concept of India... 35,000,000 Muslims remained in India (after partition)."[12] India's aim is to safeguard its secular character and to exclude religion from all questions of politics. Many people in the United States, Latin America and Western Europe think that in India there exists religious persecution of the minority communities, i.e. the non-Hindus, but in fact there is no discrimination against any religious community in India.

Pakistan has continued its hate-India campaign with persistence and even fanaticism, and has undertaken to arm itself as fully as possible. It has received weapons from the United States, Communist China and the Soviet Union, and used them from all three sources during the Indo-Pakistani conflict in 1965. Pakistan's military equipment is nearly half that of India's, although its population is less than one-fourth as great. Moreover, it continues to dwell on the same tune of military preparedness. Z. A. Bhutto, the former Foreign Minister of Pakistan, declared that if India decided to manufacture the nuclear bomb, Pakistan would have to endure every sacrifice in order to make its own nuclear weapon, even if the people had to eat grass.[13]

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[11] P. S. Ghare, "India and Her Neighbours," in *India and Her Neighbours*, edited by Harnam Singh (Jullundhar City: Book International, 1967) p. 42.

[12] Michael Brecher, *The New States of Asia: A Political Analysis* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 207.

Kashmir is particularly a sore point between the two countries. Kashmir, however, is not a cause of conflict but rather the effect of it and, in a sense, the symbol of it. The conflict between the two countries is basically a conflict of ideology, but also a conflict of power. Z. A. Bhutto said in November, 1962, that even if the Kashmir issue were settled amicably his country would not join India against China.[14] In amazingly blatant fashion, Pakistan is getting help from two ideological enemies, the United States and Communist China, for the purpose of confronting India with military strength.

Apart from Kashmir, other problems which have troubled the relations of India and Pakistan are those of migration, refugees, evacuee property, communal disturbances, economic relations, boundary uncertainties and water disputes. Nearly 10,000,000 people migrated across the borders of India and Pakistan during the first few weeks following partition. Approximately 4,000,000 people crossed from East Pakistan into West Bengal during the first three years of independence. A particularly troublesome problem has been the continued illegal migration of Muslims into Assam.[15] Due to Pakistan's theocratic state objectives, Hindus and other non-Muslim minorities are migrating in great numbers to India. "India's main concern is that progressive Islamization of Pakistan is reducing the non-Muslims to the status of half citizens.[16]

One important agreement which was finalized between India and Pakistan was the "Indus Water Treaty of September 19, 1960." This treaty assigned three upper tributaries of the Indus River, the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej, to India for its exclusive use, whereas the waters of three other tributaries, the Jhelum, the Upper Indus and the Chenab were assigned to Pakistan. On the other hand, a number of other problems have not been settled, including the recent controversy over the Farakka Barrage. During the last 100 years or so the Ganges has flowed more and more through its eastern arm, the Padma, now in East Pakistan. As a result, the water available to the Hooghly from the Ganges has been drastically reduced and even that is maintained only three months during the flood season. The Farakka Barrage consists of a dam across the Ganges at Farakka with a rail-cum-road over it, a feeder canal linking the Ganges with the Bhagirathi, and a small barrage across the Bhagirathi, upstream of the outfall of the feeder canal into the Bhagirathi and to increase the fresh water supply into the Hooghly as well as to reduce the silting of the Calcutta port. The question has also been raised before the Bengal Boundary Commission as to whether the Hooghly River should be kept under the exclusive control of the state of West Bengal. Although this scheme is nearly 100 years old, Pakistan is raising several objections to the present construction and expects to gain positive results from her protests.

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[13] Hugh Tinker, *India and Pakistan: A Political Analysis* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), p. 209.

[14] B.K. Nehru, *India-Pakistan Relations* (Washington, D. C.: Information Service of India, Embassy of India, 1965), p. 19.

[15] Norman D. Palmer, *South Asia and United States Policy* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966), p. 219.

[16] Jyoti Bhusan Das Gupta, *Indo-Pakistani Relations* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij De Brug-Djambatan, 1958), p. 4.

India has been continuously exploring ways and means to restore normal relations with Pakistan. Pakistan, on the other hand, has refused several Indian offers to sign a non-aggression pact. It has rudely rejected all such offers and, according to Indian government records, has committed 620 cease-fire violations of the Tashkent agreement reached on January 10, 1966, following the military skirmishes in the Rann of Kutch and on the India-West Pakistan boundary.

India's primary concern should be to wean Pakistan away from Chinese influence and establish friendship in the region. As Nehru said, "A weak Pakistan is a perpetual threat to us."[17] A new generation of Indian fear that India would suffer if Pakistan's political structure dissolves into chaos. The security and stability of one's neighbour has a vital bearing on one's own security. They are particularly uneasy about the recent development in East Pakistan where the pro-Chinese rural movement has been playing an aggressive role. If Communists come to power in East Pakistan it would further complicate the situation in West Bengal, Assam, Nagaland, Manipur and NEFA. There are certain elements in these areas that are hostile to India and the situation is further complicated by establishing guerrilla training camps in East Pakistan by Chinese trainers. It seems that India and Pakistan for a time, at least, will have to learn to live with each other as less than friendly neighbours, although geography and history deem them to live side by side like Siamese twins.[18]

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[17] V. G. Kiernan, "India and Pakistan: Twenty Years After," *Mainstream*, V, No. 19 (January 7, 1967), p. 28.

BANGLADESH MOVEMENT

Recently the relations with Pakistan became more strained due to Bangladesh issue. Pakistan came into existence on August 14, 1947, when India was partitioned on a religious basis; two separate areas consisting of Muslim majority were awarded to Pakistan, i.e. one area in the East and the other in the West. These two wings have been separated by more than 1,000 miles of Indian territory. Both these wings are different in their cultural traditions, linguistic affiliations, economic set-up, social customs and political issues. East Pakistanis adhere to Bengali traditions and language; wear different dress, eat different food and follow different customs; grow mostly commercial crop unique to the East (Jute) and food crop as rice; and follow a political party whose followers are in large number in the East. Only common feature among both the wings is Islam.

A simple question comes up into the minds of many outsiders that why a trouble in East Pakistan suddenly errupted. A logical answer to this question is that this trouble has been boiling in East Pakistan for the last 24 years. The cause to form an independent Government of Bangladesh was that the geographical situation of Bangladesh, its long distance from West Pakistan; continuous political, economic and religious exploitation of the people of Bangladesh; constant refusal to grant equal rights; an ever-increasing disparity in Government and foreign service employment opportunities; unequal distribution of industry and wealth; and the departure from democratic principles were some of the main reasons to decide for an independent status.

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[18] L. K. Padmanabhan, "Indo-Pakistani Relations' *Swarajya*, XII, No. 12 (November 11, 1967), p. 16.

To cite a few examples of disparity, there is a great difference in per capita income between both the wings, such as in 1959-60, the per capita income in West Pakistan was 32 per cent higher than in the East. This figure rose to 61 per cent in 1969-70, although the Third Five Year Plan aimed at reducing the gap by 20 per cent. The widening gap in the average standard of living between the two wings of the country is irreversible. "Even the West Pakistan-dominated Government admits that the average East Pakistani must make do with barely two-thirds of average income in the West and he faces higher prices too."[19] The East with 60 per cent of the population had to contend with only 20 per cent of the Central Government developmental expenses during the First Five Year Plan. However, it attained its peak of 36 per cent during the Third Five Year Plan. Even this figure is far lower than the percentages of the West. Moreover, the private investment had been less than 25 per cent and, on the other hand, the East has transferred nearly $ 2,600,000,000 to the West within 20 years of its independence. Such disparity existed in every field of economic, political and social life of East Pakistanis.

The political programme of Sheikh Mujibur Rehman's Awami League, overwhelmingly endorsed by the people (167 out of 169 seats and 98% of the votes in the East) of East Pakistan in the recent elections, sought to correct these disparities by transferring control over economic policy from the Central Government to the provinces.[20] Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was confident of obtaining the support of more than two-thirds of 313 members of the Constituent Assembly because the anti-Punjabi regional parties of the West agreed to support him. After the tremendous victory of his party, he put up six-point programme thereby pleading for more economic and political autonomy. The six-point programme did not suit General Yahya Khan, the Military Dictator, and Mr Z.A. Bhutto, the head of the People's Party of the West Wing who secured 82 seats out of 138 seats. All of them talked together to settle the matter peacefully but Mr Rehman was confident towards his demands because the East has suffered for the last 24 years at the hands of the West.

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[19] Pran Chopra, ed., *The Challange of Bangladesh: A Special Debate*, (Bombay: Popular Prakashan, 1971) p. 151.

[20] Ibid., p. 152.

The talks were unsuccessful and on the night of March 25, 1971, military started its brutal massacre. Most of the followers of the Awami League and Hindus were killed mercilessly. An indiscriminate killing of civilians, not in hundred but in hundreds of thousands, have been going on since that time. The young girls are being sterilized to cut down the Bengali race. The Bengalis are still being butchered *en masse* in the villages, their rice-ladden fields are being systematically burnt by the army. In Dinajpur, Jessore, Pubna, Kushtia, Dacca, Rangpur, Faridpur and Barisal, the Pakistani Air Force is spraying chemicals to destroy the rice fields. The main consideration of this massacre is that how long this suppression can last. It is possible that a West Pakistani army of occupation can suppress the Bengali nation for two months, six months, or a year, but the American experience in Vietnam illustrates too painfully of holding an entire population captive by force of alien arms alone.[21]

India is concerned about the Bangladesh problem from many points of view, such as the influx of more than 7,200,000 refugees has added extra burden to the existing Indian economy. It requires between Rs. 10,000,000 to 15,000,000 per day to feed these refugees. A large proportion of these refugees are Hindus and in reality these people may not return to East Pakistan though the conditions may be created for human living, because they are fearful, helpless and homeless. Pakistan may hope that this tremendous turbulence in Bangladesh will affect events in West Bengal, Manipur, Nagaland, Meghalaya and other adjoining areas. Chinese may approve this turbulence as the beginning of a national liberation war in the subcontinent and land their moral, verbal and even material support.

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[21] Ibid., p. 157.

Another problem is the recognition of Bangladesh by the Government of India. Several political parties, political and cultural groups and Members of Parliament are pleading for an immediate recognition of Bangladesh. The immediate recognition means an outbreak of a war with Pakistan and also a possibility of rapid deterioration of relations with China. Recognition also means additional financial responsibility of food, military assistance and economic burden to help run a new regime with broken economic system. Pakistan has been pleading that this is an internal matter to be decided by the Pakistan Government itself and no one else. But the inhuman, uncivilized and undemocratic act conducted by General Yahya Khan and his military personnel has left no room for doubt that the matter concerns the entire humanity of the world. This is no more an internal matter.

The Bangladesh movement has affected Pakistan economically and she is in no way able to wage a successful war with India or any other country. However, many politicians of India believe that war is inevitable with Pakistan due to Bangladesh. Recently, the Western countries including the United States have suspended the military and economic assistance to Pakistan (the Congress has passed a bill to this effect and now it goes to the Senate) till normalcy is restored in East Bengal. The Aid Pakistan Consortium (a committee of eight nations) has also refused to give any aid to Pakistan from next year. This action of the Western countries may help to some extent in early settlement of the issue.

If Bangladesh is granted freedom then Bangladesh and India may develop mutually advantageous economic and cultural relations, as long desired by both sides but frustrated by West Pakistanis who have refused to countenance any normalization of relations in the East as long as Kashmir issue remains outstanding.[22] Kashmir, however, was never such a great issue as it seems to be. Kashmir is practically a settled issue and is an integral part of India. Mrs Gandhi is determined to settle Kashmir issue permanently if Pakistan accepts to discuss the matter.

In essence Bangladesh has created an economic trouble to India and has paralyzed the Pakistani economy. This is the greatest human suffering ever witnessed at one occasion by any nation. This issue must be settled immediately through the active co-operation of dominant world powers, at least, on the humanitarian grounds.

INDIA AND NEPAL

Nepal has traditionally been closer to India than to any other country in the world. Several factors are responsible for keeping their relations friendly. Nepal is a landlocked country and most of its foreign trade is carried or passed through Indian territory. Geography makes the possibility of securing a viable alternate passage through Tibet impractical. In addition to geographical factors, social, historical, cultural, political and communication links tie India and Nepal so closely together that their destinies have been intermingled from time immemorial. Nepal and India are not separated by a physical barrier. The main Himalayan watershed lies along the northern boundary of Nepal. Nepal is the only officially Hindu state in the world, and Hinduism is obviously its dominant religion. Gorkhali, the official language, is a descendant of Sanskrit and is written in Devanagari script, as is Hindi, which is universally understood in Nepal.

In view of geographical, ethnological, cultural and historical ties and the fast-changing spectrum of politics in the world, particularly in Asia, Nepal's significance to India has increased. Nepal's strategic location, literally sandwiched between democratic India and Communist China, has caused it to become part of the free world's first line of defence against Communist expansion.

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[22] Ibid., p. 152.

China's main interest is to check such expansion and strengthen its own defence. After the Chinese occupation of Tibet in 1954 and intrusion into Indian territory in 1962, India's security and stability became linked to that of Nepal. The defence of India and Nepal is so closely knit together that one can ignore the other only at its own peril.[23] If China overran Nepal, it would be catastrophic for the northern, western and eastern states of India; therefore, for strategic and political reasons, India and Nepal should maintain a mutually beneficial close relationship.

Relations between India and Nepal based on the 1925 Treaty of Sagauli have been cordial. After Indian independence, India and Nepal signed two additional treaties. The first signed on July 31, 1950, was a treaty of peace and friendship. A secret clause, which was made public in 1959, stated that any aggression against Nepal would be considered as aggression against India and would be dealt with accordingly. The second of the two latter treaties, signed in October, 1950, dealt with trade and guaranteed free transit through India for goods destined for Nepal, as well as for goods moving from Nepal to India. Talks are going on for the revision of the trade treaty.

India played a significant role in 1950-51 in curbing the Nepalese revolt against the Rana regime and in negotiating the terms of peace. It recognized the king of Nepal as the head of state, and thus King Tribhuvan and his successor felt obliged to India for their rise in power. Nepal's king also found in India his dream of progressive democracy and admired Indian respect for human dignity. From the very beginning of Indian independence the New Delhi government was committed to the policy of supporting the cause of nationalism in Nepal.[24] Relations remained cordial until 1959, but a misunderstanding and Chinese intervention caused relations between India and Nepal to become strained in the period from 1959-63. In 1960 King Mahendra dismissed his Cabinet, banned all political activities and assumed direct control of the government without consulting Indian

[23] *The Eastern Economist*, XXXVIII, No. 16 (April 20, 1962), p. 1007.

[24] B. N. Mehrish, "India and Nepal," in *India and Her Neighbours* edited by Harnam Singh (Jullundhar City: Book International, 1967), p. 35.

authorities.[25] Moreover, strong opposition was organized within India by the dismissed politicians who supported armed raids across the border into Nepal. King Mahendra protested to the Indian government, and simultaneously cultivated Nepal's relations with China.

It was in the interest of Chinese expansionism that the states bordering India, particularly Nepal, should turn against India. On January 24, 1967, Chou En-lai told a gathering in Kathmandu that Nepal and China were blood brothers and nothing could poison this relationship. On October 5, 1961, a Sino-Nepalese boundary treaty was signed, with a corollary treaty for constructing a highway from Kathmandu to Lhasa. India feels that this highway project is a potential threat to its security. Further Chinese tactics included the granting of a loan to Nepal for economic development and the distribution of tons of cheap literature portraying China's superior achievements and India's relatively poor performance. Communist propaganda has increased steadily in Nepal. It is significant to note that the Nepalese Communists are overly anti-Indian and have attempted to foster Communist China's expansion south of the Himalayas.[26] Nepal's strict neutrality during the Chinese invasion of India proved that China had already done considerable harm to the Indian position there.

About the beginning of 1963, Nepal's relations with India began to show significant improvement, and many high-ranking officials exchanged visits. India helped Nepal in a number of economic projects including the building of roads (the Tribhuvan Raj Path east-west highway), irrigation projects, power lines, educational establishments, domestic water schemes, agricultural assistance, veterinary services and airport facilities. By March, 1967, India had spent about Rs. 500,000,000 in the kingdom and pledged another Rs. 400,000,000 for development in the next five years. Using this aid Nepal has completed 99 aid projects. Nepal now buys almost all of such basic products as cloth, salt and kerosene from India.[27] Moreover, more than 90 per cent of Nepal's foreign trade is controlled by the Indian business community. The India government aid is intended to build a shield to keep the Chinese north of the Himalayas. Recently the Nepalese government had asked India to withdraw its wireless checkposts as soon as the Nepalese personnel were equipped to handle them. Also a ban was imposed on entry into the 20-mile strip of Nepalese territory adjoining Tibet. But such a restriction was not imposed on the Indian side. After the 1962 Chinese invasion the Indian government became much rigid and formal towards Nepal. King Mahendra feels that there is a great need on the part of the Indian government to avoid suspicion and to understand Nepal's desire to maintain its independence and integrity as the only firm basis for fruitful Indo-Nepalese relations. He also expressed that Nepal could not exist without being friendly to China and that a strong Nepal would always be an asset to India. India and Nepal are vitally dependent on each other. A friendly and co-operative Nepal is a major support to India's security; similarly without the backing of India, Nepal would be far more vulnerable to Chinese pressure and designs. Thus, the co-operation between both nations is a primary concern to them. Currently, the traditional policy of friendship between India and Nepal has been reaffirmed and is growing stronger daily, although a few minor differences crop up at times.

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[25] George L. Harris and Others, *U. S. Army Area Handbook for Nepal (with Sikkim and Bhutan)* (Washington, D. C. : U. S. Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 193.

[26] P. P. Karan and W. M. Jenkins, Jr., *The Himalayan Kingdoms: Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal* (Princeton, New Jersey: D. Van Nostrand, Inc, 1963), p. 118.

INDIA AND SIKKIM

India is currently paying great attention to the welfare of the protectorate of Sikkim. Progress in development is greater in Sikkim than in the neighbouring protectorate of Bhutan. India sponsored the first seven year development plan (1954-61) of

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[27] Girilal Jain, *India Meets China in Nepal* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1959), p. 87.

Sikkim with an outright grant of Rs. 32,500,154 ($4,333,020). Sikkim's Five Year Plan of 1961-66 which followed involved an expenditure of Rs. 81,300,000 ($10,840,000) by the Government of India. This Indian assistance increased the revenue of Sikkim ten-fold. In economic development Sikkim has gone far ahead of her neighbours, as a result of Indian assistance over the last 15 years. Sikkim's per capita income is now more than twice that of India, about Rs. 700.00 (about $93.00) compared to India's Rs. 320.00 (about $42.00) per year.[28] Sikkim's development plans are an experiment in democratic partnership between the two countries. Roads are being built to protect Sikkim from the Chinese threat.

The close political relationships between India and Sikkim date from March 28, 1861, when a treaty was signed in which Sikkim became a protectorate of British India. This treaty was of great political significance since it gave full control of the kingdom to British India and consequently to the Indian Union in succession. Relations between India and Sikkim were reaffirmed on December 5, 1950, in a new treaty, the main provisions of which follow:

> Sikkim shall continue to be a protectorate of India, and, subject to the provisions of this Treaty, shall enjoy autonomy in regard to its internal affairs.
>
> The Government of India will be responsible for the defence and the territorial integrity of Sikkim. It shall have the right to take such measures as it considers necessary for the defence of Sikkim or the security of India, whether preparatory or otherwise, and whether within or outside Sikkim. In particular the Government of India shall have the right to station troops anywhere within Sikkim.
>
> The external relations of Sikkim, whether political, economic or financial, shall be conducted and regulated solely by the Government of India; and the Government of Sikkim shall have no dealings with any foreign power.[29]

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[28] "Sikkim's Ruler on Need to Review Treaty with India." *Asian Recorder*, XIII, No. 25 (June 24-28, 1967), p. 7755.

[29] *Sikkim* (New Delhi: Government of India Publication, Government Printing Press, 1966), p. 3.

This treaty does not contain any provision for further revision in the near future.

There seems to be relatively little desire in Sikkim for independent status, and even the Maharaj Kumar (present King) is not eager for a parliamentary government. Moreover, there can be no possibility of full independence for Sikkim, since the tiny principality is not capable of standing on its own feet politically, economically or militarily.

INDIA AND BHUTAN

Bhutan's location between the rich Assam-Bengal plain of India and the Communist-occupied Tibetan plateau gives the kingdom considerable geopolitical significance.[30] India is helping Bhutan in its economic development partly for strategic reasons but also because Bhutan is backward and needs developmental facilities. Providing for approximately 4,000 Tibetan refugees has put a real strain on the economy of the little kingdom. The Bhutanese budget is prepared and largely supported by the Indian government. The annual civil and military expenses of the kingdom are about $8,000,000 of which only one-eighth is raised by Bhutan. The Five Year Plan (1961-66) calling for an outlay of Rs. 180,000,000 ($24,000,000) was financed by India. Besides the development grant, Indian economic aid has totalled nearly $3,740,000 annually in recent years. Virtually all Bhutanese imports come from India.

India is actively helping Bhutan to develop a modern transportation and communications network. It is connecting the two countries with four north-south highways, one at the Bengal border and three along the Assam border. This Indian highway building programme is designed to link Bhutan firmly with India and to improve communications within Bhutan itself. Air service has been introduced from Hashirara in West Bengal to Paro in Bhutan.

India's political association with Bhutan is more intimate than that with Nepal. In 1910, under the Treaty of Punakha, Bhutan accepted the guidance of the British government in foreign affairs. A new treaty was signed between the Government of India and Bhutan in 1949 which states that:

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[30] P. P. Karan, "Geopolitical Structure of Bhutan," *India Quarterly*, XIX, No. 3 (July, 1963), p. 203.

> The Government of India undertakes to exercise no interference in the internal administration of Bhutan. On its part the Government of Bhutan agrees to be guided by the advice of the Government of India in regard to its foreign relations.[31]

Bhutanese citizens cannot leave the country without permission from the Reserve Bank of India. This provision virtually gives India full control over Bhutan's international relations. India as a matter of general policy has discouraged Bhutan from developing any direct relations with foreign countries which might bring it into power politics and deter its guided progress towards social, economic and political stability. In 1963 Communist China asked to negotiate a boundary dispute directly with the Maharaja of Bhutan, but the Maharaja ignored the request and informed the Indian government which promptly advised the Maharaja not to negotiate directly. India also protested to Peking these diplomatic initiatives of the Chinese Government.

Finally, although there is no defence agreement between India and Bhutan, the Indian government has declared time and again that an attack on Bhutan would be an attack on India. The Maharaja has also emphasized that India has every right to conduct Bhutan's foreign relations and to undertake its defence in case of external aggression.[32] He declared in 1967 that the friendship between India and Bhutan should continue for generations to come. Such friendship is obviously in the interest of both countries.

The friendship of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan is very important for the security of India and for the survival of these kingdoms as separate political entities. Indian attitudes are also changing towards helping these kingdoms, and more and more aid is being extended to them. It is clearly desirable, therefore, for these kingdoms to follow their present policy of alignment with India. The alignment is also highly useful to India in its larger plans for defending its northern perimeter.

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[31] Dev Murarka, "Isolated Bhutan," *Eastern World*, XV (May, 1961), p. 13.

[32] Ibid., p. 14.

INDIA AND BURMA

Relations between India and Burma have remained friendly since the two nations gained independence shortly after World War II. The only serious conflict which has arisen between them concerned the mass emigration of thousands of Indians from Burma after 1962 consequent upon Burma's nationalization of the shops. The laws of nationalization were so designed that no foreigner could work in Burma, remove his accumulated capital or even stay in the country. In July, 1964, about 2,000 Indians per week were leaving Burma. Since 1947, the Indian population in Burma has fallen from 1,000,000 to 500,000.[33] Some Indians were citizens of Burma and, besides, it was hard to throw all the Indians out of Burma. Burma, however, has actively co-operated with India in sealing its border against the illegal entry of rebellious groups such as the Mizo and Naga tribesmen. The boundary agreements signed on March 10, 1968, provide for boundary demarcation. During the past year or two relations between India and Burma have been better than ever before, and prospects for continued friendly relations look hopeful.

INDIA AND CEYLON

In spite of their respective differences about certain problems of emigration, India and Ceylon have had the closest of relations since the independence of both countries. Historic and cultural ties between the two countries have been strong for at least the last 2,500 years. India has exerted a profound influence on Ceylon in matters of religion, as both Buddhism and Hinduism spread there from India. Similarly, as regards language and literature, the Sinhalese language belongs to the Indo-European group and is related to Gujarati, Marathi, Bengali and Hindustani. The Tamil language came to Ceylon from Madras (Tamil Nadu) and Ceylonese art and architecture as, for instance, the Buddhist temple styles have their Indian equivalent. Buddhism has perhaps been the most important factor in the development of close bonds between the two peoples. The Panch Sheel adopted by Jawaharlal Nehru is reminiscent of the Buddha's five principles. Ceylon's geographical proximity to India has always had a powerful influence on its history.

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[33] Richard L. Park, "India's Foreign Policy, 1964-68," *Current History* LIV, No. 320 (April, 1968), p. 205.

The attitude of independent Ceylon's administrators towards India has changed from time to time depending upon circumstances and current issues. During the period from 1948 to 1956, Ceylon adopted a posture of political aloofness towards India. The desire to overlook differences and promote neighbourliness was a characteristic feature of the policy of both countries during the period of the two Bandaranaike administrations (1956-65) and more especially during that of Solomon Bandaranaike (1956-59).[34] Several cultural, economic, religious, athletic and scholastic exchanges were organized. Both countries thought alike and co-operated on Asian as well as world problems at the Colombo and Bandung conferences of the Afro-Asian nations during the Suez crisis, the Congo emergency and the conquest of Goa. Both India and Ceylon were sponsors of the Belgrade conference of non-aligned nations in September, 1961. Mr Bandaranaike always considered India a friendly power and did not envisage her in any sense as a political threat.

Mrs Bandaranaike, who succeeded her husband as Ceylonese Prime Minister after his assassination, also took an active interest in political affairs and played the role of peace-maker in the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962. She wrote to Nehru that India should not prejudice its territorial integrity or self-respect by submitting to negotiations under pressure of armed force.[35] At the same time, Ceylon refused to name China as the aggressor or to publicly support India. It is significant to note that by 1962 Ceylon and China had developed good trade relations, and that the Prime Minister did not want to rupture those relations by branding China as an aggressor. Most of the Ceylonese political parties except the Communist Party, however, supported India during the 1962 crisis. Along with numerous Tamils, many Sinhalese volunteered to fight for India. Likewise, most of the Ceylonese newspapers supported India's case.

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[34] S. U. Kodikara, *Indo-Ceylon Relations Since Independence* (Colombo: The Ceylon Institute of World Affairs, 1965), p. 50.

There have been some blots on the record of good relations between India and Ceylon, such as Ceylonese objections to the presence of the large number of Tamils in Ceylon, the dispute over the Kachcha Thivu island, the unilateral extension of India's territorial waters and fishing limits and the Radio Ceylon controversy. Of 1,187,059 Indian residents in Ceylon approximately 26,829 are Indian citizens, 134,236 are registered citizens of Ceylon and 1,029,994 are stateless persons. About 130,778 Indian nationals had left Ceylon either voluntarily or because of non-renewal of their visas up to the end of April, 1967. Although the emigration of unskilled workers from India to Ceylon was completely banned in August, 1939, quite a few Indians, particularly from the districts of Madura, Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Salem, Coimbatore, Tennevilli and Ramnad of Madras Presidency have managed to enter Ceylon illegally.[36] The Indo-Ceylonese Agreement of October, 1964, largely resolved this issue. At the time there were nearly 975,000 stateless Indians in Ceylon, of whom 525,000 were to be granted Indian citizenship and 300,000 were to be granted Ceylonese citizenship during the next 15 years, leaving the future citizenship of 150,000 other Indian immigrants subject to a separate future agreement. Under the 1964 arrangement, many families have been separated, and new questions have been raised concerning possible large-scale repatriation to India.

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[35] *The Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), November 5, 1962, p. 1.

[36] P. R. Ramchandra Rao, *India and Her Neighbours: India and Ceylon* (Bombay: Orient Longmans Ltd., 1954), p. 33.

A rather serious disagreement arose over the extension of the territorial water limits by India on September 30, 1967. Ceylon resented India's unilateral decision to extend the limit of its territorial waters to 12 miles, because this extension would affect the Ceylonese claim to the island of Kachcha Thivu. India at the same time claimed jurisdiction over a contiguous zone of 100 nautical miles from the outer limit of its territorial waters for the purpose of protecting its fisheries and other resources. Ceylon resented this move and extended its fishing rights to 100 miles beyond its territorial waters. Radio Ceylon, which is very popular for its music and commercial advertising, has restricted Indian advertising and, as a result, commercial revenue has declined. The Government of Ceylon itself imposed additional restrictions on Indian advertising in March, 1958. Despite some disagreements, however, Ceylon and India have generally had a close rapport with each other—culturally, economically and politically—and these cordial and even intimate relations will surely endure.

RELATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

India since gaining its sovereignty in 1947 has adhered to the principle of non-alignment and so has remained independent and free of the major power blocs, while at the same time co-operating with all other countries in a way that seem essential to preserve peace and freedom in the world. India has tried hard to maintain friendly relations with all the major powers, particularly with the United States, since its democratic ideology is similar to that of India.

India and the United States

Relations between the United States and India have remained friendly since independence, although there have been occasions when friction has developed between them. Cordiality reached a low point in 1951, just before Chester Bowles was sent as Ambassador to India, after which relations improved somewhat.

During 1951-52, the United States sponsored a resolution on Kashmir in the United Nations which was strongly opposed by India.[37] Even stronger Indian resentment towards American policy occurred during the spring of 1954 when the United States granted military assistance to Pakistan and sponsored the membership of Pakistan in the SEATO and CENTO military alliances. Indians realised that Pakistan could very well use the American arms delivered under terms of these pacts against India. Official and unofficial American views on Kashmir, because of the Muslim majority there, have always been more sympathetic to Pakistan than to India. The votes and speeches of the American representatives in the Security Council on the Kashmir issue clearly demonstrate this attitude.

During 1955-61, because of the developing Sino-Indian crisis, relations between India and the United States improved, and under the Kennedy administration which followed became very cordial. The only exception during this period was when the United States supported Portugal and condemned India in the Goa affair of 1961. The United States press and public became more critical of India's policy of non-alignment, non-violence and peaceful co-existence after the Goan crisis.

Indo-American relations improved again after the Chinese invasion of 1962, when the United States came quickly to India's aid with arms delivered promptly without any pre-conditions. The United States also at this time recognized the McMahon Line as the boundary between India and China. Indians were deeply impressed by this honest support. Naturally, the American aid to India was criticized by Pakistan. Many Americans believe that mere economic aid to India is insufficient, and that the area must become militarily strong to forestall subversion and potential aggression. Supplying arms and ammunitions to Pakistan while there is a genocide going on in Bangladesh by the military regime of Gen. Yahya Khan also created bitterness among India and the United States.

Misunderstanding about some American-sponsored projects in India brought resentment among the Indian people. Many Indian people disapproved the establishment of a Voice of America radio station on Indian soil. They contended that the broadcasts of this station might create friction between the blocs and thus bring the cold war directly onto Indian soil. They also feared that the Americans would simply use the station for propaganda purposes.

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[37] Norman D. Palmer, "South Asia and United States Policy," *op. cit.*, p. 17.

India tried to get financial aid from the United States for construction of a fourth steel plant (Bokaro), but after a frustrating delay a grant of $ 350,000,000 for this project was provided by the Soviet Union on May 1, 1964. On the whole, however, American aid has had a profoundly beneficial effect on the Indian economy. There are approximately 200 economic assistance agreements between the United States government and the Indian government or Indian private firms.[38] At least 600 private United States firms and institutions are engaged in India's economic and academic development programmes. During the fiscal year ending June, 1968, the total value of United States economic aid to India was around $ 690,000,000 including $ 615,000,000 in loans ultimately repayable to the United States. These loans and aid excluded the grain supplied under Public Law 480. Altogether the United States had provided India with about $ 8,000,000,000 in aid, in both grants and loans, over the past twenty years, including millions of tons of food-grains.[39] Nevertheless, the per capita economic aid to Pakistan is substantially greater than that furnished to India. As Thomas E. Dow, Jr., puts it, "Our general aid to India over the entire 20 years of independence has cost us less than four months of the Vietnam war, and has been much less than our per capita aid to other smaller Asian nations."[40]

Currently, relations between India and the United States are cordial. Cultural and educational contacts have increased tremendously in recent years. There are nearly 72,000 Indian citizens in the United States, including large numbers of students and pro-

[38] "Indo-U.S. Cooperation," *India's Development and Economic Aid* (New Delhi: Embassy of the United States of America, 1966), p. 7.

[39] Richard L. Park, "India's Foreign Policy, 1964-68," *op. cit.*, p. 244.

[40] Thomas E. Dow, Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 242.

fessional people. The Agency for International Development, Peace Corps, teacher exchange, farmer exchange, technical assistance and other government and private programmes are bringing better understanding between the two countries and are producing worthwhile results. Mr Chester Bowles wrote on April 26, 1967, in the *American Reporter* that the United States believed that a free and independent India, politically strong and economically viable, with a vigorous and independent foreign policy, has a major role to play in Asia.[41] Thus, with the friendly co-operation of both the countries, India can maintain its democratic ideals, and the internal and external Communist threat can be avoided.

INDIA AND THE SOVIET UNION

Indo-Soviet relations have improved markedly since 1953, although there have been some differences of opinion on international matters. The main points of difference have been the Soviet suppression of Hungarian nationalism in 1956, the unilateral resumption of nuclear testing in the atmosphere by the Soviet Union in 1961 and Soviet opposition to the contribution of India to the United Nations peace-making force in the Congo. Although the people and the press of India supported Czechoslovakia, the Government of India remained silent in the face of the Russian invasion in Czechoslovakia in August, 1968. On the other hand, the Soviet Union strongly supported India on Kashmir and Goa, and changed its position from a pro-Chinese stand to a line of neutrality concerning Chinese-Indian disagreements in 1959. Somewhat surprisingly, Moscow did not criticize India when the latter received armaments from the United States during the 1962 Indo-Chinese conflict. As the division of most of the world into two rival blocs get deeper, both blocs began to evolve their own strategic system of security through political alignment, for which actual possession of territory became a secondary consideration.[42] Thus, the friendship of India became more important to

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[41] "The Moving Fingers," *Eastern Economist* XLVIII, No. 18, (May 5, 1967), p. 881.

[42] *Defence and Security in the Indian Ocean Area* (New Delhi: Indian Council of World Affairs, Asia Publishing House, 1958), p. 145.

Soviet Union than the political ideological controversy. The economic aid was given without any strings. The Indo-Soviet agreement of December, 1955, was the first step towards joint partnership in economic affairs which included the construction of the Bhilai Steel Plant in India. This agreement also included a wide variety of international problems to be discussed by both the countries. In August, 1962, India entered into an agreement with the Soviet Union for the manufacture of supersonic aircraft engines, thus beginning a partial reliance on the Soviet Union for arms. Russia also helped India to build a MIG-21 factory and two giant steel plants at Bhilai in Madhya Pradesh and Bokaro in Bihar. It built oil refineries for India and assisted with petroleum exploration. Another project was the equipping of a large mechanized farm at Suratgarh (Rajasthan), said to be the only one of its kind in Asia. Recently the Soviet government agreed to establish eight more farms of the same kind in different parts of India. Economic aid extended to India by the Soviet Union totalled $ 1,022,000,000 by the end of 1965. The Soviet Union has provided India with more economic aid than it has furnished to any other non-Communist country. Other Communist countries have provided an additional $ 230,000,000.[43] The Soviet aid was largely confined to assistance in the industrialization of India. For cultivation of cultural relations, the Soviet Union has established centres for the study of Indian languages in Tashkent, Moscow and Leningrad. Recently two Russian schools were named for Mahatma Gandhi and Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Following Nehru's death, Lal Bahadur Shastri and Mrs Indira Gandhi continued to pursue Nehru's non-alignment policy in reference to the Soviet Union and the United States. India's stand on Vietnam has followed a similar line to that of the Soviet Union, although it has not supplied war material to the Hanoi government. On the other hand, it has sent social workers to South Vietnam. The United States, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union worked hard to end the fighting between India and Pakistan in 1965. A major factor in Soviet calculations was concern that the Chinese might intervene on Pakistan's side,[44] which in a way China did through its ultimatum to India. While trying to encourage a peaceful settlement, the Soviet Union continued regular military aid to India during the Indo-Pakistani conflict. When Premier Kosygin brought Ayub and Shastri to a conference table in Tashkent in 1966, it was the first time that the Soviet Union had mediated a dispute between two non-Communist nations.

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[43] Leo Tansky, *U.S. and U.S.S.R. Aid to India, Turkey and U.A.R.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1967), p. 106.

Recently there has been strong criticism by the Indian press and public of the Soviet Union's decision to supply arms to Pakistan. The United States and the Soviet Union are both unhappy about India's unwillingness to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty. India feels that her security is endangered by the recent atomic and hydrogen bomb tests conducted by the People's Republic of China. India will probably refuse to sign the nuclear non-proliferation treaty as long as China is not a party to the agreement.

INDIA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

India is a founding member of the postwar Commonwealth, but in all sections in India there is great resentment towards continuing membership in this organization. Britain has always supported Pakistan on the Kashmir issue against India, and openly supported Portugal in the case of Goa. Persistent British influence on the Indian administrative structure, Britain's legalistic stand on the South African racial question, the British effort to join the European Common Market, and the Commonwealth Immigration Act of 1962 which restricted the traditional right of Commonwealth citizens to emigrate to Britain are further causes of resentment in India. The Indian governments seem to be unwilling to leave the Commonwealth, however, because through the Commonwealth it retains friendship and remains in communication with other Commonwealth countries.

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[44] Arthur Stein, "India and the USSR: The Post Nehru Period," *Asian Survey*, VII, No. 2. (March, 1967), p. 171.

THE PEOPLE OF INDIAN ORIGIN ABROAD

Many Indians emigrated to other countries in the nineteenth and the early part of the twentieth centuries. The heaviest concentrations of Indians are in Ceylon, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, the Fiji Islands, Mauritius, Malagasy, Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, the Republic of South Africa, Trinidad and Tobago, Jamaica, Guyana, Surinam, Canada and the United Kingdom (Table 20).

Indians abroad continue to look to the Government of India for protection of their civil rights and liberties in these foreign countries. Even after the third and fourth generations, the emigrants live like Indians, their behaviour and philosophical outlook are Indian, and they are faithful to India. The overseas Indians have developed an India-away-from-home attitude wherever they have settled. During the 1962-Chinese invasion and the 1965 India-Pakistan conflict, overseas Indians contributed economic aid and moral support to India. They often revisit their homeland; and the newly established republics where many of them reside exchange political and cultural ideas with the Government of India. Some of these countries treat Indians as stateless citizens, however, and discriminatory treatment abounds. Ceylon, Burma, Malaysia and Singapore are some of the countries where discrimination exists, but the Indian government is negotiating special arrangements for settling the stateless persons problem.

The most acute problems concerning overseas Indians have arisen in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and the Republic of South Africa. In Kenya there are nearly 180,000 Indians anxious for Africanization. Kenya has introduced a new immigration bill, providing for the abolition of the erstwhile passes and work permits for non-citizens.[45] Nearly 130,000 Indians now have to apply for work permits. India has closed the door to these Indian citizens, but nearly 50,000 are expected to leave Kenya within the next five years. Many of them have been trying to relocate in Britain.

India has had a bitter quarrel with the Republic of South Africa where racial discrimination is at its height. Racial discrimination

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[45] "Back to Motherland," *Commerce*, CXV, No. 2943 (October 7, 1967) p. 792.

TABLE 20

INDIANS OVERSEAS

Name of Country	*Persons of Indian Origin and Citizens of India*	*Name of Country*	*Persons of Indian Origin and Citizens of India*
Aden	16,000 to 17,000	Malagasy	17,710
Afghanistan	21,800	Malawi	10,800
Algeria	196	Malaysia	808,000
Argentina	214	Malta	106
Australia	14,378	Mauritius	500,000
Austria	109	Mexico	26
Bahrain	5,000	Morocco	500
Belgium	303*	Nepal	3,000,000
Bolivia	2*	Netherlands	156
Brazil	50*	New Zealand	5,000
Bulgaria	5*	Norway	29
Burma	275,139	Nigeria	2,051
Cambodia	370	Panama	362
Canada	28,534	Philippines	1,885
Ceylon	1,187,059	Poland	95
Chile	66	Portuguese East Africa	2,200
China	99	Peru	7
Colombia	2+ ten families	Rumania	3
Congo	2,016	Saudi Arabia	2,000
Cuba	28	Senegal	568

Czechoslovakia	104	Sierre-Leone	200,250*
Denmark	102	Spain	2,307
Ethiopia	4,025	Sudan	2,555
Finland	40	Somalia	1,960*
Fiji Islands	228,200	Surinam	93,000
France	310*	Sweden	255
Germany (Federal Republic)	5,500	Switzerland	305*
Ghana	1,309	Syria	85
Greece	16*	Tanzania	88,000
Guyana	338,000*	Thailand	15,000
Hungary	44	Trinidad and Tobago	342,154
Indonesia	25,000	Turkey	62*
Iran	1,145	UAR	452*
Ireland	384	Uganda	80,000
Iraq	1,500	UK	160,000
Italy	350	USA	19,682
Jamaica	30,000	USSR	627
Japan	975	Venezuela	12*
Jordan	21	Vietnam (North)	One Family
Kuwait	12,000	Vietnam (South)	1,895
Laos	620	Yugoslavia	102
Lebanon	306	Yemen	12*
Liberia	100*	Republic of Zambia	7,000
Libya	299*		

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*These figures are in respect of citizens of India only.

against Indians exists in South Africa in every walk of life and in the worst possible form.[46] The Group Area Act passed in 1950, which imposed segregation and a series of other restrictions on the negro majority and various foreign minorities has been fully implemented. By this Act no one could live, acquire property or conduct his own business in any area except one designated for his own racial group. The Indian citizens of South Africa have been denied some of the most important rights of citizenship. The wives of these citizens have been denied entry into South Africa, and the South African government has persistently ignored numerous resolutions passed by the United Nations urging it to abandon its discriminatory policies against different racial groups. India and Pakistan simultaneously protested against this discrimination. South Africa withdrew itself from the Commonwealth in 1961 rather than yield on its apartheid policy.

In conclusion, India's relationships with her neighbours and with the major power blocs are very important to her own survival as a democratic nation and to the general political stability of southeast Asia. Confronting two hostile neighbours with contrasting ideologies, India has had to rely to some extent upon both the Communist and non-Communist power blocs in order to maintain its own prestige, ideology and national image. The power blocs directly affect India's economic prospects, since the United States and the Soviet Union are supplying considerable economic aid for her development projects. Both of these superpowers have actively interfered in the case of international disputes between India and her neighbours. For example, the United States warned India and Pakistan to accept a cease-fire immediately when both were fighting an undeclared war in 1965. It was the Soviet Union which brought the two belligerents to a conference table in Tashkent in 1966. Military aid furnished by the United States and the Soviet Union to India to assist her in resisting Communist Chinese expansion is indispensable to Indian security. A policy of non-alignment is a difficult one in the modern world, but the Indian government sees it as the only feasible course.

[46] *The Times of India Directory* (Year Book) (Bombay: Times of India Press, 1967) p. 115.

CHAPTER
VIII

Conclusions

This book of the political geography of India necessitated tracing the various cultural, economic, political and geographical patterns since independence. It discussed several important aspects of the political geography of the Indian nation, such as the effects of the physical and cultural environment and the unequal distribution of resources on the changing internal map of India as well as on voting behaviour, external boundary problems and international relations. Effects of environmental conditions on the internal stability, the economic and political viability, the survival of India as a democratic nation and the maintenance of peace in the region have been appraised.

The Indian Republic has inherited several cultural, racial, linguistic, religious and politico-administrative legacies from the historical past that are affecting the present geopolitical structure of the country. The history of India reveals an endless succession of invasions by various peoples, resulting in a complex range of ethnic grouping, religious differences, political fragmentation and cultural types. Several important influences of the past are still evident in India, such as in the village Panchayat and Court system, the system of electing Panchayat Committees by universal adult suffrage, the landownership and revenue system. These influences magnified the complexities of the nation.

The four major physical divisions which have affected India's internal and external political relationships through its history are: (1) the Himalayas, (2) the Gangetic Plain, (3) the Southern Plateau and (4) the western and eastern coastal plains. The Himalayan ranges isolate India from Central Asia. They are a linguistic and cultural divide as well as a catchment area for the perennial rivers of the north. The mountains, while not penetrable in earlier times, facilitated the stability and peace of South Asia since antiquity. Recent developments in air power and missile systems, however, have threatened the peace and posed questions as to the future efficacy of the Himalayas as a natural barrier. The Chinese invasion of 1962 demonstrated what modern military equipment can do in difficult terrain and refuted the false sense of security, a kind of Maginot Line mentality of the Indian people.

In contrast to the Himalayas, which have mainly served a separating function, the Gangetic Plain is a centre of power with a concentration of population, and a capacity for assimilation which favours the unity of the nation. Altered political patterns in the northern plain brought instability in governmental machinery after the 1967 elections.

The southern plateau has among its advantages well-developed resources and the fertile black lava soil of the Deccan which supports a strong commercial agriculture. The higher revenue and foreign exchange earned through the sale of minerals and commercial crops has developed in the plateau a sense of opposition towards the ruling Congress Party. State political leaders in the region would like to have access to foreign exchange earned for the development of their own state. The inability of the national government to supply the quantity and type of food-grains desired has motivated changing the local allegiance to the Opposition parties.

The coastal plains are also characterized by commercial agriculture, and the sale of products like cashew nuts, spices and coir brings in foreign exchange earnings that are relatively higher than those earned by other states of India. These coastal plain states demanded that the foreign exchange earned by the state should be invested in the state itself rather than using in other states. If this were permitted, it would mean that each state should function as an autonomous unit. Regionalism, linguistic rivalries, territorial claims, river water disputes, capital city controversies and competition for the establishment of new steel mills or other industrial plants are all disintegrating forces in the Indian Union. Each of the states wants more attention given to its internal development and hence has tended to oppose the ruling Congress Party which has had to look out for the appropriate developmental needs of the whole nation. The Central Government obviously has to establish and enforce laws that are beneficial for all the people rather than for a small segment of the people.

A variety of climatic influences have affected the strategic situation of India, its internal unity or disunity, its economic viability and its regional diversity. Many of the nation's political problems can be related to the eccentricities of seasonal winds and rainfall rhythms. These phenomena have created floods, droughts, regional shortages of food and conflicts concerning the distribution of river and canal waters. Less directly, climatic conditions have influenced the problems relating to the selection of dam sites, the preservation of forests and conditions of soil erosion.

The unequal distribution of agricultural and mineral resources in India has affected the economic viability and political stability of the nation as a whole and of its various regions. This unequal distribution of resources has created a regional disparity and rivalry among the states and has contributed to fragmentation and regionalism. The uneven distribution of agricultural resources in relation to population has resulted in some states being deficient in food, i.e. West Bengal and Kerala, whereas other states, like Andhra Pradesh and Punjab, have a surplus of food. Similarly, the unequal distribution of minerals has posed problems of equitable distribution of industrial establishments in various states. This problem was partially met by the Central Government's efforts to establish industrial plants in various states in response to locally available resources. The Central Government has tried to provide reasonably equal opportunity for manufactural development of every state.

Because of the unusual concentration of heavy industry in the Chota Nagpur plateau, that area has developed labour unrest which contributes to political instability in the region. For example, the State Governments in Bihar and West Bengal in this region became unstable, the ministries were toppled several times, and eventually West Bengal turned to a Communist coalition government and Bihar to a Presidential rule. Orissa changed its allegiance to a coalition government formed by the Swatantra and Jana Sangh parties. West Bengal is at present under a Presidential rule and Bihar is under a coalition ministry supported by the New Congress organization. Orissa is also under a coalition supported by the New Congress.

Since India is deficient in certain minerals and fuels, significant sums must be expended in importing these items from foreign countries to meet the demand at home. To continue this practice, India must maintain good relations with various foreign countries and power blocs, especially with ideologically similar countries like the United States and the nations of Western Europe.

Widespread poverty, regional economic disparities and political instability can be attributed at least in part to India's immense population and the uneven distribution of this population. India has, however, finally become aware of over-population as a national problem and has started massive family planning programmes. "About 5,000,000 births have been prevented in India so far, according to a conservative estimate of the Family Planning Department of India."[1] India has performed about 7,000,000 sterilizations which represents more than 50 per cent of the total world performance in sterilization. In spite of a massive family planning programme, however, the population has been growing at an alarming rate of about 13,000,000 per year. At present the total population of India is 550,000,000. The uneven distribution of population has generated several problems for the central administration, as well as for the various State Governments. Some of the most densely populated states, such as Kerala and West Bengal, have changed their allegiance to Communist governments, hoping somehow to eliminate existing food scarcities, low wages, unemployment, inadequate housing and generally poor living conditions. West Bengal is now under the President's rule and Kerala Assembly is controlled by the Communist Party of India with the coalition of the ruling Congress Party. The densely settled northern plain has become politically unstable since March, 1967, due to regional food shortages, the widespread unemployment of educated young people and large numbers of landless labourers. The failure of economic development to keep pace with population pressure results in underemployment and mounting unemployment, which in turn create frustrations that are dangerous to the democratic process.

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[1] "Birth Control Programme of India Makes Progress," *The Asian Student*, XVII, No. 28 (April 5, 1969), p. 4.

The lack of unity and political stability in India are reflected by the changing political map. India was never united as one country during the historical past until welded together by British power. Even the British themselves did not administer the subcontinent as a whole, large areas and population remained under Indian princely rulers as autonomous states. Thus, the regional feelings always subordinated the national unity. The internal map of India has changed considerably since independence, and new patterns have emerged. After years of resistance by the central administration, linguistic states have become the rule.

The economic picture that India presented at the time of independence was one of extremes, with princes and privileged classes on the one hand and poverty-stricken peasants and suffering masses on the other. The initial challenges to the stability of the nation posed by the mass migration of displaced persons to India from Pakistan and by the problems of integrating 562 princely states and nine British provinces into a stable-nation state were successfully met.

The reorganization of states on a linguistic basis has introduced several disintegrating forces into Indian politics. It has developed greater linguistic consciousness and a stronger sense of regionalism, which in turn have hindered economic co-operation between the states. The linguistic organization has created new forms of social unrest and encouraged fissiparous tendencies in the newly united country. It is the author's opinion that independent India should have been organized on the basis of geo-economic regions rather than on languages. At present the linguistic agitation is subsiding, but regionalism is getting stronger.

The failure to find a generally agreeable solution to the Kashmir problem has presented another obstacle to stability and peace in

India. In the author's opinion, the Kashmir conflict is simply the result of other conflicts between India and Pakistan. Even if the Kashmir problem had been solved, many of these basic conflicts would have remained. There is obviously an ideological difference between the two nations. After more than 21 years of separation however, the two parts of Kashmir have developed reasonably peaceful and workable political, economic and cultural links with the respective occupying countries. Maintaining the *status quo* seems at present to be the only solution to the problem of maintaining peace and stability in the region.

Besides Kashmir, Assam and the North-East Frontier Agency have developed into unstable and troublesome areas since independence. More and more autonomy within India has been granted to these areas. Finally, at least, proper attention is being paid to the economic development of the region. In the author's view, however, these areas need even more attention from the central government in order to assure continued economic development to provide for peace and stability in the region and to assure the cultural assimilation of the people within the Indian nation.

The presence of foreign enclaves within her territory and along her coast presented different and sensitive problems to independent India. The French enclaves were integrated by diplomatic intercourse between India and France. India also tried to persuade Portugal by diplomacy and, through non-violent protests, to vacate its enclaves but with no results. India then used force to eliminate Portuguese control of these enclaves. This action led to criticism by the Western powers.

The offshore islands posed a somewhat different type of problem for India. Indian security concepts demanded that they be developed for reasons of national defence and security as well as for the betterment of the inhabitants. Some of these islands were occupied by Japan during World War II, and a threat was posed by a pro-Communist Indonesia in the early sixties. The islands have now been integrated more closely with the mainland than previously, and development programmes are under way.

After four general elections in which representatives to the Lok Sabha and the Vidhan Sabhas have been chosen, a distinct change has taken place in the internal political pattern. Although the transfer of power from Nehru to two successive Prime Ministers has been managed smoothly and with a sense of responsibility and dignity, the last general elections demonstrated that united opposition strength can challenge the ruling Congress Party. Shifting political control from the ruling Congress Party to the united opposition, however, does not seem to be a favourable omen for the future stability of the nation. The coalition governments in various states suggest that the coalition of various parties with contrasting philosophies leading to chronic instability, regular defections, temptation of corruption and public cynicism about the political process. The infighting among the collaborating partners created a general state of lawlessness in different states such as in West Bengal and Kerala. During its years in power, the Congress Party gave India a much more stable political order than prevailed in many other parts of Asia. With one or two exceptions, the new state coalition governments have collapsed, causing political instability and economic distress. Opposition groups, especially the leftist groups, have tried to influence the central government to change its foreign policy towards the Communist nations. The Congress Party's majority control at the national level resulted in such demands being rejected by the Parliament.

A recent split in the Congress Party indicates the healthy signs for the democratic process. The by-product of this split is that for the first time in the Indian Republic's history there is no Opposition party in both the houses, the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha. India's outstanding accomplishment in 1969 was to demonstrate that its constitutional and administrative frame could absorb the shock of a split in the party that had ruled with no comparable opposition, since it became independent. India's ruling Congress Party (Mrs Indira Gandhi's Branch) has been cautiously working towards implementing policies to achieve the objective of democratic socialization. Mrs Gandhi's government should bring speedy economic progress and at the same time it should be able to maintain healthy parliamentary democracy. The end results will be political freedom, equal opportunity, secular government and social justice.

Future viable political patterns which may evolve are: a rightist coalition of the Swatantra and the Jana Sangh, a coalition of the Old Congress Party with either the Jana Sangh or the Swatantra, a Congress Party in the majority with split opposition from rightist and leftist parties, or the Old Congress with rightist parties and the New Congress with democratic socialistic forces. The performance of the government led by the New Congress Party will affect the final outcome of the 1972 General Election and the final polarization of parties. In the long run, the changing patterns of political parties may crystalize into two or three national parties and one or two local parties. An additional three or four General Elections may be needed before any stable and viable pattern can develop in state governments throughout India. The Fifth General Elections (Mid-term Election, March, 1971) where the New Congress Party came to power with a massive majority (more than two-thirds of the seats) have developed a new pattern. The New Congress Party may remain in power at least for five to ten years if its policies are actively implemented. The Opposition parties may have to change their behaviour towards serving the people rather than merely promising to do so.

The external relations of India are as important for its stability as a democratic nation as are the internal political and economic conditions. Serious disagreements with China and Pakistan have affected the peace, stability and prestige of India as a democratic country. The long-range outlook for peace was irrevocably changed when China invaded India in 1962. The aim of this Chinese invasion was to deprive India of its moral leadership in the world, especially among the Afro-Asian nations. Ideological, political and strategic considerations motivated China's aggressive action. China's expansionist policy has been a constant danger to India's safety and peace. The collusion of Pakistan and China in certain foreign-policy situations has forced India to increase its defence budget and consequently hindered its economic progress.

The borders between India, China and Pakistan are still unsettled, and India's stability can only be maintained through internal cohesion and the support of the free world. The nations of the free world supported India wholeheartedly during the

Chinese invasion in 1962. If India were to fall into hostile hands, unfriendly bases on Indian territory could be used to cut the sea and air routes essential for trade and lengthen the lines of defence against Communist aggression. If India were to be drawn into the communist camp, the rest of southeast Asia, where hostile China's influence is less pronounced, could easily be incorporated into the power sphere of that nation of more than seven hundred million people.

Since achieving independence in 1947, India has had to face an astonishing variety of cultural, economic, political and strategic problems. It has, however, survived as a democratic country. India firmly believes that any political means other than a democratic political framework would ultimately defeat the very purpose of creating political, economic and social conditions in which the citizens enjoy democratic liberties and equality of opportunity. The government branch of the Congress Party adheres to follow democratic socialism and distributional justice for the betterment of the country. The Prime Minister has decided to revitalize the nation and spur it to make new sacrifices for the common good. India has proved to be a relatively stable nation and a stabilizing influence for peace in the region. With a highly diverse population of more than five hundred million, India is finding its place as a democratic and peace-loving nation in Asia and in the world. After the Fifth General Election, India's image as a democratic nation has reached to a higher level than ever before. This election gave a clear proof of being the largest democracy in the world.

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